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Volume 44, No. 1 *Whole No. 313*

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NEXT MONTH

"The American Negro in the Dark World" is the title of an interesting article by Dr. Ernst O. Hauser which will be featured in THE CRISIS for February.

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There will be also a piece by Howard W. Oxley on the training which the CCC camps are giving Negro youths in various fields to enable them to enter gainful employment.

•

The March number will be devoted to education and particularly to the fight against educational inequalities. There will be two important articles by Dr. Mordecai W. Johnson, president of Howard university, and Dr. W. L. Wright, president of Lincoln university, (Pa.)

OUR CONTRIBUTORS

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A Texas Lynching

By Durward Pruden

Part 1—The Story of the Lynching

ONE Saturday morning in the spring of the early 1930's the Negro laborer on a White man's farm, near Leeville,[1] Texas, came to his employer's house to collect his wages. On being told by the farmer's wife that her husband had gone to town and had not left the wages, the Negro, disappointed, left the house, but returned shortly with a shotgun, forced the woman into her bedroom, and assaulted her several times. Fearing that the woman's five-year old son in the back yard might give an alarm, the Negro went to look for him, but first tied his victim to the bed, telling her he would return soon. She broke loose and fled across a field to a neighbor's house where the sheriff was telephoned. Meanwhile, some men came walking along the road, and the Negro fled toward a creek bottom.

Although the above is the commonly accepted story of the crime, there are other versions, as is frequently the case in charges of this nature. Most of the Leeville Negroes and some Whites believe that no assault occurred. Medical records show that the illicit relationship did occur.

The Arrest and Beginnings of Mob Action

One deputy sheriff came to the scene and arrested the Negro, who, it is claimed, fired at him. The Negro confessed, agreed to plead guilty, waived all rights, and was secreted in a jail in a town some miles distant from Leeville. The next Monday night a small group of men and boys loitered near the Leeville jail. By Tuesday many exaggerated versions of the details of the assault were being repeated on the street. Tuesday night a large group of boys and men appeared at the jail and demanded the Negro. They refused to leave until the sheriff allowed some of their leaders to go through the jail and see that the Negro was not there. There were no more attempts at mob action until the next Friday, the date set for the trial.

The Attempt at Trial

On the morning of the trial many people came to the Leeville business center, both local residents and others

[1] Fictitious names are used throughout the article. The population of Leeville is 15,000.

This study is reprinted by special permission of the Department of Sociology at Southern Methodist University in Dallas, Tex., from its publication "Studies in Sociology" for the summer of 1936. By agreement with the university no changes whatsoever have been made in the article

from farms and small communities of the adjacent trading area. The judge refused to change venue, but had four Texas Rangers present to guard the court. The Rangers took the Negro into the courthouse early in the morning before the crowd gathered. All morning, as the jury was being selected, the crowd around the courtyard and in the courthouse halls grew larger and more belligerent. Just as the situation was hanging in the balance between an orderly trial and a riot, a rumor was circulated that the governor of the state had telegraphed the Rangers not to shoot anyone in trying to protect the Negro. Although the rumor was untrue, yet it was accepted by the mob and so encouraged its members as to make the Rangers practically helpless without extensive bloodshed. The precipitating event which changed the huge curious crowd into a viscious and active mob, was the bringing of the woman from the hospital to the courthouse in an ambulance, and carrying her on a stretcher through the crowd into the courtroom. This was about 1 o'clock. After that the mob went wild. It broke in the courtroom, and was repeatedly driven back by the Rangers, with drawn guns and tear gas. Several shots were fired. The judge at last decided to change venue, and the Negro was hurried into the second-floor, fireproof vault room of the district clerk's office.

Burning the Courthouse

When the mob saw that the Rangers were determined to hold the courthouse, they determined to burn it. A group of teen age boys, led by an excited and vociferous woman dressed in red, broke out the courthouse windows with rocks, threw gasoline in, and fired the building about 2:30 in the afternoon. The fire department used its ladders to carry the people from the second floor courtroom. There was some objection to the rescuing of the judge, county attorney, sheriffs, and Rangers; but, finally, all were removed except the Negro in the district clerk's vault. As the firemen tried to fight the blaze during the afternoon, the mob cut the fire hose and sometimes attacked the firemen.

The Battle with the Soldiers

The Rangers, who had left the courthouse, telephoned the governor for assistance, and about 4 P. M. a small detachment of National Guards arrived from a neighboring town. They marched around the falling ruins of the courthouse, saw that they were too far outnumbered to restore order, and returned home. About 6 P. M. a larger unit of 52 soldiers from a large city to the south arrived. Leaving a detachment to garrison their headquarters at the county jail three blocks west of the courthouse, the remainder deployed around the smoldering courthouse ruins to push the crowd back from the hanging walls. As darkness fell, the spirit of the mob became uglier. They reasoned that if the governor would not let the Rangers shoot at them he surely would not let soldiers shoot either. They began to abuse the soldiers, and soon a pitched battle ensued in which the troops were forced to retreat the three blocks back to the jail, followed by the angry mob throwing bricks, rocks, pieces of timber, chunks of concrete, broken bottles, sticks of dynamite, etc. Several soldiers were badly cut and beaten, others had their rifles taken from them, and some of the mobsters received minor bullet wounds. Reinforced by their comrades at the jail the troops made a determined stand there and started shooting into the air. The mob then withdrew and returned to the courthouse square to open the vault and get the Negro, about whose condition there was much speculation.

From around 8 P. M. to midnight various efforts were made to open the upper room of the great two story steel and cement vault. A gigantic crowd packed the entire square and side streets. Finally, the mob leaders confiscated an acetylene torch; and, working from the top of a ladder, were able to open a hole large enough to insert dynamite and blow out a hole which the mob leader entered and threw out the dead body of the Negro.

The corpse was dragged behind a Ford roadster containing two young men and two girls to the Negro business section, a distance of seven blocks. Thousands of people followed in a frenzied midnight parade, yelling, sing-

ing, tooting horns of automobiles. At an important corner in the Negro section the body was drawn up to the limb of a cottonwood tree in front of a Negro drug store. The store was forcibly entered and ransacked, the money and valuables pocketed, confections passed out to the crowd, and the furniture and furnishings piled under the Negro's body for fuel. Some versions have it that the leader unsexed the Negro in the presence of the crowd of men, women, and children before lighting the fire. The crowd gave a mighty cheer as flames enveloped the Negro's body. After the burning of the body some of the crowd—the onlookers—went home, but the more vicious elements continued ransacking and burning with gasoline the Negro business places including a hotel, drug store, two cafes, two barber shops, two dentists' offices, a doctor's office, two undertaking establishments, an Odd Fellows' Hall, a Knights of Pythias building, a theater, a lawyer's office, a life insurance office, a cleaning and pressing shop, and several residences. They swore that they would "run all the dam niggers out of Leeville." Many of the remaining mob were very drunk. The fire department was not permitted to put any water on the fires except on nearby property owned by Whites.

Exodus of the Negroes

Meanwhile all of Leeville's 2,000 Negro inhabitants were under cover. Some were given refuge by White friends and employers in Leeville; the others, with their old people, their sick, their babies and children, hurried away in old automobiles, wagons, buggies, on mules, and by foot. Some reached Negro friends in adjacent cities; less fortunate individuals spent a harrowing night in ditches, ravines, clumps of bushes, under houses or bridges, etc.

Martial Law

About 1 o'clock Saturday morning 150 more National Guards arrived with machine guns, rifles, side arms, and tear gas. They, together with the previously mentioned soldiers at the jail, were at last able to break the mob and disperse it. At 3 A.M. more troops arrived. At dawn the soldiers had the town under control with machine guns mounted at strategic points. Martial law was declared and arrests began. During the next few days there were continual rumors that the mob would reassemble on the outskirts of town at dark, make a new march against the soldiers, and complete their avowed job of burning all Negro dwellings and driving their occupants out of town permanently. The armed force was increased to 419 men and more arms were brought in, but nothing more of importance occurred. A notice was found tacked on a White employer's office door warning him to fire his Negro workers and engage Whites. Warnings to leave town were discovered on some Negro dwellings. A military court of investigation turned over 29 persons and 600 typewritten pages of confidential evidence to the civil authorities, who indicted 14 men and boys. They were removed to jail in the large metropolitan city to the south; a citizens' committee to maintain order was organized; and the troops left Leeville after being there nine days.

Legal Dispositions

After many seemingly unnecessary delays on the part of the Leeville county attorney, the rioters were brought to trial in the aforementioned metropolitan city, where, to the surprise and chagrin of the judge, a jury of urban men could not be found who would agree to convict even if the defendants were proved guilty. On another change of venue to the state capital city, one young man was finally given a two-year term for arson. This was more than a year after the lynching. The defendant was already at odds with the law on other charges. Before ending his sentence he was released by the governor on petition of Leeville citizens on account of the illness of his mother. The other 13 men were never tried.

Race relations in Leeville continued very strained for many months. The Negro citizens (most of whom returned) were abused and persecuted severely before the situation became normal again.

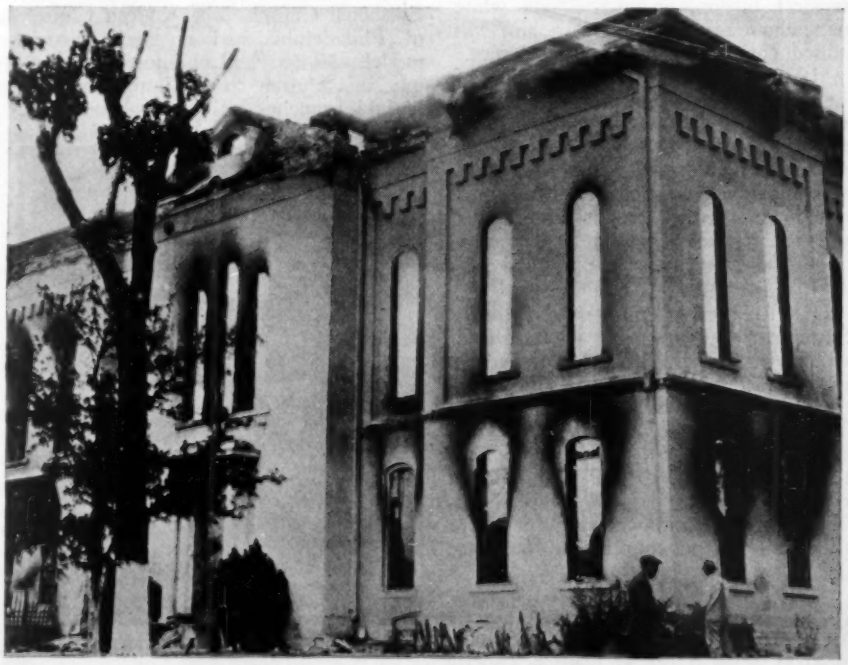
Part II—Conclusions and Interpretations

Economic Decadence and Negro Competition

Government and financial statistics show that although Leeville had at the beginning of the century been a leading Texas city financially, industrially, and culturally, yet during the decade preceding this riot it definitely lost ground in population as well as in business, and at the time of the lynching was feeling the pinch of economic decadence severely.

Negroes are not allowed in many communities near Leeville, and in that city they are excluded from work at most industrial institutions, having to content themselves with what money sifts down from the wealthier Whites for such odd jobs as car washing, lawn mowing, shoe shining, and day labor on the farms. In spite of this situation the more ambitious Negroes had managed to accumulate some property, and several had become quite prosperous. Meanwhile, due to the economic decadence, many of the poorer Whites were having financial difficulties. Proof of their resentment of the propertied Negroes is shown in the riot by the destruction of Negro property, the plans to burn all Negro homes, the mob slogan of "run all the niggers out of Leeville," the posting of notices on the Negro shacks warning the occupants to leave, the notice on the

(*Continued on page* 18)



The Leeville court house after the fire

Organized Religion and the Cults

By Miles Mark Fisher

The organized denominations of the country have much to learn from such cult leaders as Elder Michaux, Father Divine and Mother Horne, declares this young minister

I NOMINATE the religious movements which are led by Bishop Grace, Elder Michaux, Father Divine et al. for inclusion in the *Census of Religious Bodies: 1936.* Kindred holiness and pentecostal groups with 1248 churches and a membership of 70,500 persons are included in the 1926 Religious Census. These represent 8 of the 54 denominations which enroll Negroes—the Church of the Living God, Christian Workers for Fellowship, organized in 1889; the Church of Christ (Holiness) U. S. A., 1894; the Church of God in Christ, 1895; the Church of God and Saints of Christ, 1896; the Pentecostal Assemblies of the World, 1908; the Churches of God, Holiness, 1914; the Apostolic Overcoming Holy Church of God, 1916, and the Church of the Living God, "The Pillar and Ground of Truth," 1925.

Of the 54 denominations 24 "were exclusively Negro," and there were "30 which were primarily white." Yet denominations like the Church of God and Saints of Christ and the Pentecostal Assemblies of the World belong neither to the "exclusively Negro" nor to the "primarily white" religious bodies. The Census itself states that the Church of God and Saints of Christ was begun by "William S. Crowdy, a Negro man," its first bishop, and that "one white man who was associated with him was subsequently raised to the same office." In 1933 the Pentecostal Assemblies of the World had 7 bishops of whom 4 were black and 3 were white. These churches enroll white members. It would seem, therefore, that some holiness and pentecostal churches have protested against the "exclusively Negro" and the "primarily white" denominations and have organized, shall I say, "Christian churches"?

The Religious Census of the United States could not possibly mention individuals like Elder James Morris Webb, who helped to revive racialism within the Negro churches when he published *The Black Man The Father of Civilization Proven by Biblical History,* Seattle, Washington, 1910. This booklet contained a letter from Bishop H. M. Turner who commended Webb "to the ministry and churches of our race of every denomination." Elder Webb's *Lecture: Jesus Was Born Out of the Black Tribe,* which was published in Chicago, was widely received because Negro churches delighted to hear "that the blood of the Negro coursed through the veins of Jesus and Solomon."

The "exclusively Negro" churches have been multiplying. The United Holy Church of America, founded at Durham, North Carolina, in 1894, must be added to the number. This church has reached points as far removed as the Bermuda Islands and California. Then there are the House of Jacob, Holiness and Sanctified Church which was founded by the late Supreme Chief and Bishop, G. W. Israel, and Bishop W. D. Barbour's Triumph Church of the New Age at Pittsburgh. The Free Will Holiness Association has existed in North Carolina since 1914. In September, 1923, the respectable Council of Community Churches originated in Chicago primarily because of alleged irregularities in the African Methodist Episcopal Church. The Kodesh Church of Philadelphia had no such historic model. Elder F. R. Killingsworth began this church in 1927 and in 1934 had 11 branches. Elder Holland Goff, an evangelist from Milwaukee, went to Fayetteville, North Carolina, in August, 1928, and within a month had established the Saints of the Solid Rock of Holiness. Goff founded "Zora," a sort of industrial community for the Saints about three miles from Fayetteville. The division of the Church of God in Christ became the Church of God in Christ (Pentecostal) in 1931.

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Non-Christian Churches

As in former years the 1936 Religious Census will undoubtedly include all known types of religious bodies. It will indeed be of value to know those religious organizations which undertake to win the allegiance of Negroes by other than recognized Christian propaganda. Islam is spreading in the United States from its Chicago headquarters. Both the beliefs of Mohammed and of Jesus were drawn upon by Timothy Drew who founded the religious, race-conscious, philanthropic Moorish Science Temple at Chicago in 1925. The Moors, as the disciples of this cult are called, are still prominent in Chicago and Baltimore. The similar "University of Islam" is at Detroit, while Sufi Abdul Hamid, a purported Hitler aid, has his Industrial Clerical Alliance in New York City. No Census has taken notice of communism or has attempted to measure the extent of primitivism.

The following spiritualist churches, which consider themselves distinctly "Christian," could be mentioned in a religious census—the Anthony Spiritual Temple of America, founded by the "diamond tooth evangelist," Anthony George of Philadelphia, and the Christian Spiritual Union of the late Archbishop M. N. Henry, a native woman of Benares, India, also with headquarters in Philadelphia. The Negro National Spiritualist Association with headquarters in Detroit was founded in 1925, and the Orthodox Spiritualist Church of America with headquarters in New York City, in 1932. The Interdenominational Ministers' Council and United Churches of Christ Institutional (1933) works from Baltimore but is considering New York headquarters. When the Independent Universal Spiritualist Churches were last heard of (1934), their founder, Bishop Simon D. Brooks, was serving a 1 to 5 year term in Waupun Penitentiary in Wisconsin.

Almost in every center, particularly

[1] Materials of the lecture, "William S. Crowdy and the Saints," delivered by Miles Mark Fisher at the Twentieth Annual Convocation of the School of Religion, Howard University, November 12, 1936.

ELDER MICHAUX
"Happy Am I" radio preacher

urban, is some unorthodox religious group which makes a definite appeal to Negroes. In Washington, D. C., about three doors from the Mt. Carmel (Institutional) Baptist Church, is a meeting place of the unnoticed international cult of Jehovah's Witnesses. Jehovah's Witnesses, which was founded by "Pastor" Russell and popularized by Judge Rutherford, and other "primarily white" adventist and holiness bodies shows that white people have religious organizations which are in direct opposition to the churches. This movement runs immediately back to the "restless" last quarter of the nineteenth century and has been intensified by the Spanish American War, the World War and the Fundamentalist stir.

Rise of the Cults

The 1936 Religious Census should also show the Negro's attack upon organized Christianity. The small but numerous faith healing groups like the Church of One Faith in New York City and the Miracle Temple of Christ in Richmond, Virginia, should not be omitted. Individual "prophets" like Thompson of Chicago, Darnley of Atlanta, Moses of Pleasantville, New Jersey, Martin and Joseph of Washington, D. C., and Jones of Brooklyn might escape the census, but not Prophet Kiwah Costonie. He and his Church of the Almighty God in Brooklyn are too important. Bishop Charles Manuel Grace has founded fully 50 branches of the United House of Prayer from New York to Florida. He claims 200,000 members since 1921. Elder Lightfoot Solomon Michaux established his Church of God in Washington in 1928 and since then has become internationally known as "radio's *Happy Am I* evangelist." In about seven years Father Divine can claim an international organization that has grown from "Kingdoms" in New York City. There are other kindred groups, but they are not as well-known. For example, Elder Lucy Smith's Langley Avenue All Nations Pentecostal Church was begun in Chicago before the World War. Branches are now established in the West and in the South. Bishop R. C. Lawson has his Refuge Church of Christ not only in New York City but also in fourteen states, the Virgin Islands and Panama. Mother Rosa Horne's Mt. Calvary Assembly Hall of the Pentecostal Faith of All Nations has spread to several places outside of New York City.

My observation is that the 1936 religious census can show considerable denominational losses during the last ten years. The "cults" have made it difficult to say who is a church member. It might not be without significance that one of my earliest Sunday school teachers was indeed a cult member but was buried as an outstanding member, the superintendent of the primary department of the Sunday school of a Chicago church. I remember her demise several years ago and how the "saints" virtually took charge of her body. A pastor in a cult center facetiously remarked to me: "If you want to see my folks on a Sunday night, go to Elder Lucy Smith's." It is not accidental that church attendance, particularly on Sunday nights, has decreased while cult attendance has increased, that cult meetings become crowded on Sundays after the churches have about dismissed and that the cults hold meetings during the week at times when the churches have no worship services. As a matter of fact, the holiness and pentecostal groups are modeled after the Baptist and Methodist churches, are often led by ex-Baptists and ex-Methodists and enroll many members who formerly belonged to the popular denominations.

Of course the churches of the last ten years have gone through a depression, but many of them are practically bankrupt not only because of the economic crisis but also because they did not compete successfully with the cults which generally thrived all during the period. Church members have been known to withhold their financial support from the already debt-ridden historical churches and then to give offerings to the cults. Cult literature has been and is sold in abundance to church members. Witness the widespread dissemination of the Watch Tower publications of Jehovah's Witnesses. There is probably an astounding number of Negro church members who subscribe to *Unity* magazine. The average Negro church member cannot buy cult literature and at the same time give full allegiance to his church. Matthew 6:21 is still true, "For where your treasure is, there will your heart be also."

Cults Point the Way

A glance beyond the excesses of the holiness and pentecostal movement will reveal an abiding way of life. Beyond the strong individual cult denials of a unity of ideals are similar aims and purposes. The cults and not the denominations point out directions for organized religion to take.

The cults have said distinctly that *the future Negro churches shall neither be "exclusively Negro" nor "primarily white" but "Christian."* The cults mean that it shall no longer be a badge of honor and an occasion for the widest possible Negro publicity when a black man preaches to whites. Says Bishop R. C. Lawson in the Preface of his booklet, *The Anthropology of Jesus Christ Our Kinsman:* "I have pastored a mixed congregation of white and black folk ever since I have been pastoring." Crowdy, Haygood, Horne, Smith, Costonie, Grace, Michaux, Divine, and others are cult leaders who are not excited because they preach to and are the pastors "of white and black folk." Whites and blacks are just people. The continued success of this experiment outside of the historical churches has profound significance for the churches and for the bi-racial United States. Already, the Young People's Interracial Fellowship Church has been organized in Philadelphia and has held monthly meetings for one year. It has entered upon its second year of inter-

(*Continued on next page*)

MOTHER ROSA HORNE
Harlem's radio preacher

racial worship services with alternating black and white speakers.

Simplicity distinguishes the cults and might as well characterize the churches. Cult leaders are not degreed clergymen but are former cooks, like Crowdy and Grace, and an ex-dressmaker, like Horne, and an ex-fish peddler, like Michaux, and an ex-barber (?) like Divine, all of whom would hardly be licensed to preach by any of the popular denominations. Occasionally, there is an "Archbishop" and a "D.D." among them, but more often their lack of a title is in striking contrast to the church leaders. Holiness and pentecostal leaders are as elaborate as Negro preachers only perhaps in their creature comforts. Unlike the worship places of many of the local churches, the cult places of meeting are tents or "store-fronts" or other plain audience rooms. The Church of God and Saints of Christ has gone so far as to have no instrumental accompaniments to its music, although "saints" generally employ a variety of musical instruments.

The cults are most prosperous where intelligence abounds, establishing their headquarters in our cultural and educational centers like New York City, Chicago, Philadelphia, Washington and Memphis, primarily because the evangelical denominations appeal less and less to the untrained masses. In proportion as the churches are becoming unemotional—fine, fashionable and formal, — their programs become less intelligible to the common man. Unsophisticated churchmen and the "forgotten" masses, therefore, furnish the great majority of the cult members who are held by the weirdest type of abandon and emotionalism. It is to be hoped that the churches are not destroying the very foundation of their superstructure by neglecting the common man, for it is no secret that the cults are attracting respectable attention. Elder Michaux went to Philadelphia in the late spring of 1934. According to the *Afro-American*, June 9, 1934, "a feature of his appearance here (in Philadelphia) was the organization of a citizens' committee [2] to serve as host to the Michaux organization. This committee is headed by Major R. R. Wright and one of its members is serving each night to introduce the elder." The Norfolk *Journal and Guide*, May 25, 1935, heads almost a half column thus: "BISHOP HOWARD PLUMMER HEARD BY MASS. NAACP; Belleville Leader Shares Program with Elite." Bishop Howard Z. Plummer, one knows, was the "leader of the Church of God and Saints of Christ." When Elder Lucy Smith observed her sixty-second birthday at the All Nations Church on the fourteenth of January, 1936, the Chicago *Defender* of January 18 carried her cut and the statement that "among the distinguished guests were: Alderman William Dawson, Attorney and Mrs. A. M. Burroughs, Attorney and Mrs. George C. Adams . . . W. T. Brown, Jr. (a leading undertaker), the mayor of Bronzeville . . ."

[2] Joseph Rainey, W. Rollo Wilson, Hobson Reynolds, Raymond Pace Alexander, Walter Becket, John Marquess, Dr. Charles A. Lewis, E. Washington Rhodes, Major R. R. Wright and William N. Jones.

Equality for Women

In no one of the popular denominations is full standing given to women. Regardless of a Constitutional amendment and of the fact that the larger percentage of church members are women, women are not leaders of the historical churches. Here and there a woman is on a Baptist church board of trustees and is sometimes licensed and ordained to preach by the Baptists. Among the Methodists she is usually an evangelist. Only among the cults has a woman the highest offices of leadership, being sometimes an "Archbishop" or a "Bishop" or an "Elder." Miss Laura L. R. Perry left the St. Mark's Community Church in Norfolk, Virginia, in 1934, to become the "Bishop" of the Perry Community Holiness Church. Lucy Smith went to Chicago from the Baptist stronghold in Atlanta and organized her All Nations Pentecostal Church, becoming its Elder. Elder Rosa Artimus Horne of the Methodist faith finally got to New York City from her native Sumter, South Carolina, with a new-found pentecostal fire and organized the Mt. Calvary Assembly Hall. The well-to-do holiness Bishop Ida Robinson is in Philadelphia. Father Divine associates "Faithful Mary" with himself.

"Faithful Mary!" Her real name is Viola Wilson, "a former notorious police character in the Third Ward of Newark," but reformation under Father Divine brought her the "new name." Here Father Divine follows Revelation 2:17 and 3:12 and in the New York Supreme Court won the right for the Divinites to register their new kingdom names for voting purposes. This is an illustration of the extreme Biblical position of the cults. Historical criticism, however, has made the churches less sure that they have a supreme biblical warrant. Expository preaching and doctrinal sermons, particularly about sanctification, have about ceased in the churches. Time was when popular preachers would have their pictures taken with the open Bible in one hand, but that pose is now out of date except for cult leaders, like Michaux and Perry. The cults depend upon the Bible for their authority. The names of their leaders, "Bishop," "Elder," "Father," and "Mother," and of their churches, "Kodesh (Hebrew for Holy!)," "Church of God," "House of Prayer for All People," and "Kingdoms," and of their customs, a common meal, washing "the saints' feet," the "holy kiss," and gifts of the "Holy Ghost," "tongues," and "of healing," are all in the Bible. Cult preaching is largely of the proof-text variety.

Cult Leaders Are Prophets

Churches have much to learn from the cult leaders of religion who are our ethical prophets, though truly "crazy." Crowdy "was arrested 22 times, six times for insanity." "Father" Chester Talliafero, the founder of the Saints' Rest in Philadelphia, was charged with gross misconduct in 1928, 1933 and 1935 only to be detained in an asylum from which he was released. It is exceptional when a cult leader is adjudged guilty of anything other than insanity. Cult leaders have the courage to denounce this world. "Belleville (Virginia)" of the Church of God and Saints of Christ, the Kingdoms of Father Divine and "Zora (North Carolina)" of the Saints of the Solid Rock of Holiness are more or less communistic headquarters of these groups. All popular amusements are taboo. Nowhere at a local or a sectional or a national meeting of the United Holy Church will a saint be found using tobacco. Saints are just not supposed to use it. The cults are such vehement advocates of temperance that bodies like the Church of God and Saints of Christ and the Churches of the Living God, Christian Workers for Fellowship substitute water for the wine which is ordinarily used in the Lord's supper. All know that the Divinites, whose slogan is "Peace! It is wonderful," are probably the first pacifist religious group among Negroes, even though Bishop Grace rejoins: "I am the only man in the world preaching peace." Moreover, the cults attack present social and economic practices by fostering businesses that are not run primarily for profit.

The churches used to lead in social work. Trained Negro clergymen now content themselves with the current philosophy that churches are to furnish the inspiration for social work rather than to do it. The cults, however, operate social agencies even though their plants are often dilapidated and unsanitary. The Divinites in particular conduct fuel, food, clothes and kindred businesses. *Happy News*, the official

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Lady Blanche and the Christ

After the Manner of the Mediaeval Tale

By Octavia Beatrice Wynbush

A Christmas story with a message as old as the legend of Bethlehem

THE minstrel's song had ceased, and the last harpstring had trembled into silence. Sir Rupert, the Lady Blanche, and their daughter Hildegarde, and all the household aroused and shook themselves as people waking from a dream, and gazed into the great hearth-fire in silence.

And Sir Rupert said, " 'Tis a strange tale ye tell, and a strange song ye sing, Minstrel. Your lodging from the bitter cold, and your Christmas feast at our board tomorrow shall be your reward."

Then, he turned to his serfs and thralls who sat apart around the roaring fire, to hear the teller of tales and the singer of songs, and bade them go and take with them the singer.

When they had gone, Sir Rupert said to Lady Blanche, "Why art thou so quiet? Likest thou not the minstrel's song?"

And Lady Blanche answered, "Aye, I liked it over much. Many a song have I heard, but never one like his."

"But it is not so much the song," spoke the little Hildegarde, "as it is the minstrel. Sawest thou ever a minstrel like him?"

"Yes, that is it," quoth the Lady Blanche. "The minstrel! A man as uncommon as the song he sang."

"He sang of the great oak, and said that any one might see the Christ under its branches tonight, the eve of Christmas," whispered the little maid.

"And at what a price," said Sir Rupert.

"To give him the thing one holds most precious," mused the Lady Blanche.

"Nay, not that," quoth Sir Rupert, "not that. He said the thing hardest to give."

"Is it not the same?" asked the little maid.

"Methinks not," said Sir Rupert. "In my mind there is a difference. But it is time to go to bed, ere Christmas Day dawn and find us here."

And as they left the hall, Sir Rupert and the little Hildegarde talked and laughed, but the Lady Blanche said naught, for she was wrapped in deepest thought.

THE rush lights had long ago ceased to glow. Only the Yule-log burned brightly on the hearth when the Lady Blanche came back into the now-dark hall. And she was clad in warmest garments from head to foot, for she would go to the great fire-oak, to see the Christ of whom the minstrel told. And ready was she to give the hardest gift the Christ might ask, if he would bless her soul.

She drew the well-wrought bolts and walked into the night. The wild wind blew, the white snow swirled, and the frost gleamed on the frozen earth. The moon shone full and bright, and by its light the lady wended her way to the great oak. Straight and strong it stood, where four roads met—a broad road, which men said led northward to an unknown land, and southward even into Rome;—a narrow, winding road on which the knights went venturing east and west.

The Lady Blanche smiled when she stood beneath the bare and black branches of the oak. Right glad she was for shelter from the wind and the snow. And glad again she was, for she would see the Christ, and receive his blessing.

So by the oak's strong stem the lady waited, saying her prayers the while.

And lo, when the midnight came, the whirling wind died down, and swirling snow lay suddenly at rest. And across the snow, to eastward, came the tinkle of a far-off bell. The Lady Blanche looked up from her prayers, and a strange sight did she behold.

Across the snow there came a man, the likes whereof the fair lady had never seen. Tall he was, and straight. Broad of chest and strong and shapely of limb. But the lady marvelled at his dress and at his features, for he was clad in flowing robes of white, and around his head was wound a turban of white cloth, pinned with a crescent moon. His face was swarthy, even unto brownness, and his lips uttered strange words.

When he had come to Lady Blanche, he did obeisance, bowing himself low, yet there was nothing servile in the gesture, nor was it one of fulsome flattery. And though he spoke in a strange tongue, yet could the lady understand his greeting, that it was full of friendliness.

Now a great loathing filled the lady fair, so that she turned her from the brown-faced man, and said, "Begone! I wait the coming of the Christ."

And even as she spoke, the white-robed man moved on across the snow.

Then clasped the lady her great cloak closer about her, and waited wondering. Nor had she waited long, when down the self-same road the man had trod, a woman came. Small she was, and curiously dressed. Her long black hair was piled high upon her head, and pierced with many a jeweled pin. Her shapely hands were crossed upon her breast, upon a flowing, wide-sleeved silken robe embroidered in golden threads, and a wondrous yellow cast was her face.

When she came near the Lady Blanche, she stopped and smiled; and though her tongue was strange, the lady understood her words—a greeting full of cheer and goodliness.

But though the woman's rich embroidered robes and softly-uttered words did tell her high born state, yet did the Lady Blanche withhold her speech for very scorn, and turn away her high-held head.

"I wish," cried she, "the Christ would come!"

With slow step the woman in the flowing robe passed on, and went the way the turbaned man had gone.

Then stood the Lady Blanche, pressed close against the huge oak's sturdy stem, and held her fur cloak close. Down the four roads she looked,—north, south, east, west.

Then as she gazed down the northern road, a cry arose behind the tree. Then stepped the lady toward the sound, an there, behold a sight! A child, all black, with close-curled hair, stood with bare feet and ragged garments. And he did cry and piteously beg for food and warmth. When he saw the lady come around the tree, he started toward her.

"Away! Go to your own," cried Lady Blanche. "I wait the Christ. Away!"

With a deep cry the black child turned and walked into the night.

THEN, sudden on the lady's ear, a burst of music fell. It was the self-same song the minstrel sang, a wondrous melody, sweet yet so very sad. And sadder now it seemed to

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An Alley in the Valley

Rollins L. Winslow

TRAFFIC may now pass over the bridgeway of Joe Wheeler Dam, one of the series of river dams included in the constructional program of the Tennessee Valley Authority*. In some sections of the Tennessee Valley no Negroes reside, or reside in such small numbers that they hardly figure in the social and economic problems emerging from these sections. Other areas they densely inhabit, as that in which Wheeler Dam is located. And so, in the construction of Wheeler Dam, Negro employees were hired.

On June 15, 1936, in the Wheeler Dam theater, a motion picture, "The Challenge of the TVA" was shown. Among the featured objectives as achieved and proposed by the TVA was that in its program for social and economic betterment the Authority presented itself as a challenge to the fair treatment of labor and races.

If one considers closely the operation of the TVA, even if it be granted that the agency may present itself as a challenge to the fair treatment of labor, there remains much doubt as to whether it can as yet be accepted as a challenge to the fair treatment of races.

The incidents and experiences related in this writing are but a few of similar ones that have occurred. The program of the TVA is much wider in scope than any one of its construction projects. Without some very courageous pioneering by the official constituency within the authority, conditions as they prevailed at Wheeler Dam serve as a rather reliable indicator of what Negroes may expect from the TVA. If asked why: Wilson Dam was completed in 1925, before the creation of the Tennessee Valley Act; Norris Dam was completed this year, but so few Negroes inhabit the area around Norris Dam that the racial element hardly entered the picture; now Wheeler Dam is practically completed—it was here that the racial element made its appearance in the TVA set-up.

The truth is that the tense racial situation at Pickwick Landing Dam overshadows any probability of improved racial relations as compared with Wheeler Dam. What improvements, if any, may be made at Guntersville Dam near Guntersville, Alabama, and at Chickamauga Dam near Chattanooga, Tennessee, no one can fully state at present. Yet, without the application of additional valor and a deeper sense of justice and fair play in the administration of the principles and policies of the Authority, I dare say that little or no improvement can be forthcoming.

The TVA will never challenge the old ways and lead in establishing a "more abundant life" if it continues to adjust its work to the prejudices of the local communities it serves, says this writer

Few for Fair Deal

As far-reaching as the influence of the TVA may have been to date, it remains that the Tennessee Valley stretches its way through seven southern states—Kentucky, Tennessee, North Carolina, Virginia, Alabama, Mississippi, and Georgia. As created by an act of Congress, the Authority is a government agency. Among the white officials entrusted with the execution of its principles and policies, there were a few who, at Wheeler Dam, did their best toward assuring Negroes a fair deal. Others expressed their belief that Negroes should receive a fair deal. Only those of the former group deserve to be commended, for it is not for the mere possession, but for the exemplification of courage and a sense of fairness for which men are to be commended.

Until the nine men in black robes rule on the TVA in its entirety, the work of the agency must remain a social and economic experiment. With its experimental nature the Authority may become a challenge to the fair treatment of races, but its becoming so is threatened by a danger to which it is constantly yielding—that of adjusting its activities to the customs and traditions of the South when the element of race enters into its functioning as a system.

Wheeler Dam

The practice of the Authority has been to employ whites and Negroes in the same proportion in which they inhabit the area of a given radius about the construction projects. This racial proportion in the Wheeler Dam area is 5 to 1. At the peak of the project this proportion of employed was, for the most part, maintained. The approximate representation of Negroes as of November 1, 1935 (the construction project was then in full swing) in as many occupations as they were allowed to work is given in the following:

Occupational Classification	Working	Off	Total
Cement Finisher	5	1	6
Cement Finisher Helper	9	1	10
Cement Pump Operator	8	2	10
Concrete Laborer	99	48	147
Fireman	4	5	9
Flagman	25	27	52
Jackhammer Operator	27	39	66
Janitor	22	10	32
Kitchen Helper	12	7	19
Laborer	519	380	899
Marine Helper	8	9	17
Mechanic Helper	4	1	5
Powderman	1	0	1
Powderman Helper	16	8	24
Rigger	5	1	6
Rigger Helper	7	1	8
Sub-Foreman	0	1	1
Wagon Drill Operator	38	35	73
Wagon Drill Helper	33	43	76

I must of necessity add that occupational segregation on a racial basis handicapped the 5 to 1 proportion near the end of the construction project at Wheeler Dam. The majority of Negro workman performed unskilled and semi-skilled labor. If asked why, construction officials would reply that they knew how to perform no other type of labor. Some of them did not, yet, these construction officials can not conscientiously deny that if the policy of allowing every employee to perform the type of work for which he was prepared by ability and experience, had

* To be referred to hereafter as the TVA or the Authority.

to any appreciable degree been applied to Negroes, the number of this majority could and would have been greatly reduced.

No Promotions

Often when the question would arise of hiring or promoting Negroes to skilled labor the assertion was made that not enough of them in a particular skill could be found to justify the hiring of any in that skill. With that assertion must have gone the unuttered thought: "And thank goodness there are not enough! May there never be enough. Left to me, I am sure there will never be enough."

Once a concrete laborer remarked that if he should be employed by the TVA after leaving Wheeler Dam he would want to work as a water carrier. My contention was that carrying water offered little or no chance for learning anything. His reply: "What e'er I learn workin' in concrete it'll be the same as if I didn't know it."

"What do you mean by it'll be the same' ", I asked.

"If I learn to work in concrete so well I can do it with shut eyes, I'll ne'er get rated above a concrete laborer."

Pouring concrete at Wheeler Dam

To go farther, I well recall a group of concrete laborers so competent in the performance of their work that when the foreman of the group was transferred from Wheeler Dam to another project, these men remained there. They were needed to help continue concrete pouring, for they were experienced concrete laborers, and knew what they were doing. Otherwise, they would not have been kept on the job after their foreman was transferred. *One of the men in this group should have been made foreman of the group.* Everyone of them knew more about concrete pouring than the white man who was placed over them as foreman. Supervisors in the construction department had been evading the issue of placing Negroes according to their ability and skill rather than according to their color, but this was an instance in which the facts were too obvious for other than an outright discrimination. These concrete laborers remained on the job near to its completion, and by that time they had gone to considerable length in schooling a white foreman, when from the standpoint of efficiency, economy, and fairness, one of these men should have become foreman.

It would be difficult to convince me that within the TVA those at the top in administrative and executive positions sanction the discriminations shown Negroes. Without and above the organized agency itself, certainly President Roosevelt would not sanction such discriminations. Nor would Senator Norris, one of the most ardent advocates of the TVA. And within the set-up I rather think it beneath the calibre of the board of directors to sanction them. Those in charge lower down in the set-up must be responsible for the improper application of policies in considering Negroes.

If the theory involved were ever to be actually practiced, one of the most noteworthy contributions the TVA would make to labor is in the form of its Employee Relationship Policy, which as formulated is to govern the relationship between employees and management. Section 7 of the Policy reads: "Disputes between an employee and the management growing out of grievances or out of the interpretation or application of the published rules and regulations of the Authority governing labor standards, rates of pay, classification, hours of work, employment conditions, and the like shall be handled by the employee or his representative through established supervisory channels, up to and including the designated chief supervisory officer concerned, as defined from time to time by the proper administrative officers. Failing prompt and satisfactory adjustment, the employee or his representative may appeal the dispute to the central office of the Personnel Division for investigation and adjustment."

At Wheeler Dam it too often resulted that officials of management determinedly stood together without, or even against the principles involved in the policy. This is a statement in which white employees would readily agree with me, except for their confirming a statement made by a Negro. As an example of some such statements made in defiance of the Employee Relationship Policy, I record one made in October, 1935, when contrary to the provisions of the policy, I was dismissed from an occupation. After I had conferred with the supervisor who dismissed me and was conferring with his supervisor for an adjustment, the latter remarked: "Well, I wouldn't go over one of my men's head for anything in the world." In view of such defiant statements and actions the above-quoted section 7 of the Policy can never become effective as a medium of adjustment.

Probably the above mentioned incident, better than any other, serves to bring out the intended theme of this writing. Those who formulated the Employee Relationship Policy and others at the top who were entrusted with its administration may have earnestly desired justice and fairness to labor—white and Negro. Adequate measures

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Negro Labor Unionist of New York

Alfred Baker Lewis reviews here the book by Charles L. Franklin. The study is published by Columbia University Press and sells for $3.75

MR. FRANKLIN'S book is a painstaking and moving record of the uphill struggle of the Negro workers in Manhattan from menial and unskilled work to a more even distribution throughout the whole field of labor. This gallant struggle against the indifference and hostility of many employers and the prejudice of many workers has brought them within the field of organized labor with important results to the labor movement and the Negro group alike.

The Negro in Manhattan, as elsewhere, started his life as a "free" worker, bound by custom to certain so-called menial occupations, especially domestic service. These occupations are notoriously hard to organize. Domestic servants are unorganized, whether white or Negro. But there has been a steady shift by Negro workers into manufacturing and transportation, and a climb upward from the more unskilled occupations to the more skilled ones within each industry. This change in the character of the work done by Negroes was greatly hastened by the labor shortage during the war, but it was going on entirely independent of war conditions.

Furthermore, this shift in occupation brought increasing numbers of Negroes within the ranks of organizable workers. As a result, the total number of Negro labor unionists in New York grew from 1400 in 1910 to 2700 in 1928, and climbed to 39,500 in Manhattan alone by 1935. This latter figure represents 9.3% of all the organized workers in Manhattan, while the Negroes there constituted in 1930 11.9% of all the population over 10 years of age.

This startling increase from 1928 to 1935 is due partly to the fact that the proportion of union members among unskilled workers has grown considerably. The Building Service Employees Union, for example, was not in existence in 1928, but had 41,500 members by 1935, 9,400 of whom were Negroes.

When the N.R.A. brought a great increase in interest in unions among the workers generally, the Negro workers, along with their white fellows, felt the need and heard the call to organize. Negroes responded eagerly, as the figures above given show. Furthermore, when they were organized the Negro workers made extremely loyal union members. Not a single union reported Negro members as having failed to strike when called out by the union. On the other hand, one union, the Cooks and Stewards Local of the International Seamen's Union, was definitely saved after a disastrous strike by the loyalty of its Negro members.

A good number of unions reported that their Negro members did not take active part in meetings, evidently due to the fact that they sensed race prejudice among some of their fellow members. On the other hand, a considerable number of unions with a decided minority of Negro members, reported Negro officers.

As Negroes came into trades that were generally organized, they found that the attitude of the white trade unionists towards them varied widely. Just as the attitude of white people generally towards the aspirations of the Negro group for social justice varies from the friendliness of white members of interracial committees and the active help of white members of the N.A.A.C.P. to the bitter hostility and fiendish brutality of many southerners, so the attitude of whites who are trade unionists likewise covered a wide range.

Some unions, including both those within and outside the A. F. of L., actually excluded Negroes by constitutional provisions. These include such unions as the Masters, Mates and Pilots, and the Brotherhood of Railway Conductors. Others have no constitutional bar, but in practice exclude Negroes by long apprenticeship requirements under which Negroes are not admitted, because the number of apprenticeships is limited, and there is usually a waiting list of the young friends and relatives of those already members. In other cases, exclusion of Negroes results from the mere fact that employers do not hire them in the line of work over which the union exercises jurisdiction.

Still other unions, of which the International Ladies Garment Workers Union is a praiseworthy example, are active and vigorous in the campaign to organize Negroes on a basis completely equal with whites.

The A. F. of L. is officially on record by resolutions adopted at repeated conventions as being opposed to any color bar. In practice, however, the A. F. of L., does nothing to enforce such resolutions on those international unions which still bar the Negro. They merely undertake to organize Negroes working in such trades in federal locals connected directly with the A. F. of L. Even those international unions which do not bar Negroes take no vigorous action against locals of their union who sometimes bar Negroes in practice, though not by rules.

In general, the building and printing trades in New York are practically though not completely closed to Negro membership, except for the hod carriers' union. The unions in the clothing trades on the other hand are actively friendly as a rule. The International Ladies Garment Workers Union was started by terribly exploited immigrant workers fired originally by Socialist enthusiasm, and it still possesses much of that original radical idealism, and is in the forefront of every move in New York to extend the benefits of trade unions to Negroes.

Among the unions of comparatively unskilled workers which actively seek to organize the Negro, the motive ranges from a sincere desire to eliminate from within the ranks of labor the weakness and division that result from race prejudice to a mere desire to control the competition of Negro workers. This latter desire can be accomplished without really giving them genuine equality of opportunity at the best jobs. Complaint was made to the auhor by Negro unionists from the building trades and the barbers that they were effectively discriminated against in being given only the shorter lasting and less desirable jobs under the union's jurisdiction.

Since 1910, a group of devoted "economic radicals," outstanding among whom were Mr. A. Philip Randolph and Mr. Frank R. Crosswaith, have constantly preached among Negroes the doctrine of labor solidarity. To a great extent this Socialist doctrine was a wish and a hope rather than a fact, because of discrimination practiced against Negroes by some unions. But the economic radicals started actively on the twin task of overcoming such discrimination on the part of white workers with the help of their fellow white radicals, and teaching Negroes class consciousness in place of race consciousness.

That these men were right cannot well be doubted. Mr. Randolph and his co-workers have been devoted in building the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car

(*Continued on page* 30)

The Anti-Lynching Bill in the New Congress

By Walter White

ON January 5, when the 75th Congress convenes, the anti-lynching bill will be introduced in both houses of the Congress. Senator Robert F. Wagner will present the bill to the Senate, in conjunction with another senator whose name will be announced later and who will take the place of Senator Edward P. Costigan who has retired because of ill health. In the House of Representatives the bill will be introduced by a number of representatives from various parts of the country. Conferences have been held prior to the opening of Congress with a number of senators and congressmen, and others interested in passage of the bill. Just prior to the opening of Congress a conference of those working for anti-lynching legislation was held to organize and plan for consistent and unremitting activity until the bill is enacted into law.

The procedure, as tentatively outlined to date, will be to press for passage first in the House of Representatives. On introduction, the bill will be automatically referred to the committee on the judiciary. The chairman of that committee is Hatton W. Sumners, of Texas, who has repeatedly been quoted as declaring that he will never permit an anti-lynching bill to be reported out favorably by the committee of which he is chairman. Unless pressure is brought to bear upon Mr. Sumners by party leaders, it is certain that he will continue his implacable hostility to legislation to curb lynching. In that event it is probable that a petition to discharge the judiciary committee from further consideration of the bill will be circulated at the expiration of the period required under the House rules before a committee can be discharged by petition.

Many Members Pledged

During the recent campaign, the N.A.A.C.P. and cooperating organizations interested in the anti-lynching bill sought of candidates for the House and Senate written statements of their attitude towards this and other legislation. On December 10, 251 Congressmen, elected to the 75th Congress, had either signed a pledge to support the bill or had indicated their support of the measure by introduction of anti-lynching bills in the 74th Congress, by signing in the spring of 1936 the petition for a Democratic caucus to endorse the bill, or by signing the Gavagan discharge petition late in the 74th Congress. The pledge which some congressmen signed reads:

A call to arms for a new fight for a federal law against lynching is sounded here by the secretary of the N.A.A.C.P.

> "I pledge, if elected, to do everything possible to bring to a vote and to vote for an effective anti-lynching bill in the 75th Congress. I also promise to oppose all discrimination on account of race, creed, or color, in relief, jobs, civil service, or in any other way."

If these Congressmen live up to their pre-election pledges, it is anticipated that a discharge petition will be speedily signed by the requisite 218 members. This action will bring the bill directly to the floor of the House for a vote.

If and when the bill is passed by the House of Representatives, activity will be immediately transferred to the Senate. It is certain that such Senators as Ellison D. Smith of South Carolina, Tom Connally of Texas, Josiah W. Bailey of North Carolina, William E. Borah of Idaho, Joseph T. Robinson of Arkansas, and others who participated, openly or indirectly in the filibuster of 1935 will immediately resort to both open and behind-the-scenes efforts to keep the bill from being voted on. Whether a filibuster succeeds or not will depend upon two factors: first, the attitude of President Roosevelt and of his administration in actively supporting the bill and insisting upon action; second, the consistent pressure of constituents upon congressmen and senators.

We realize that to many persons the sending of telegrams, letters and petitions may seem at times a useless, if not a futile procedure. But the majority of senators and congressmen, harried and busied by a multiplicity of duties, takes an active interest in specific bills only when they know that their constituents insist upon passage. Such steady and unremitting pressure is, therefore, of the utmost importance.

No Certainty of Success

It would be foolish to indulge in over-optimism regarding passage of an anti-lynching bill by the coming Congress. At the same time it is true that never before has the outlook for passage been so encouraging. The new mobility of the Negro vote, and insistence during the recent Presidential campaign upon the issue of anti-lynching legislation, have made such legislation more of a national issue than ever before. There are also faint indications that northern congressmen and senators who have hitherto permitted themselves to be bulldozed or restrained from aggressive support of the anti-lynching bill by the tactics of blatant and ill-mannered southern congressmen and senators will not be as easily intimidated in the new Congress as before. These northern and border-states congressmen who have large Negro and other constituencies interested in the anti-lynching bill are now beginning to realize that such Senators as Ellison D. Smith of South Carolina do not represent the intelligent and decent elements of their own states. They also are impressed by the unprecedented denunciation of the filibuster of 1935 by leading southern newspapers, like the Greensboro (N. C.) *Daily News*. The activity of such powerful southern groups as the Women's Missionary Council of the Methodist Episcopal Church South, who have unanimously endorsed the Costigan-Wagner bill, has revealed the extent to which the truly enlightened South itself wants federal anti-lynching legislation.

A not inconsiderable and new factor enters into the situation in the 75th Congress so far as the anti-lynching bill and similar legislation are concerned. President Roosevelt is the first Democratic President to be elected by so overwhelming a majority that he would have been elected had not a single southern state voted for him. He thus is, or at least can afford to be independent of the reactionary, Negrophobic wing of the southern Democrats. Also he has achieved re-election and, cognizant of the tradition against third terms, he can safely afford to resist the pressure of the fast-dwindling Bourbons, and to translate into legislation his strong personal feelings against lynching. In this he will have two comforting circumstances to back whatever efforts he may make: first, repudiation by the voters of their own states of "Cotton Ed" Smith of South Carolina and "Gene" Talmadge of Georgia and their vicious appeals to race prejudice; and, second, the extraordinarily potent strength and independence of Negro voters in pivotal states during the recent election.

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All Time Negro Football Team

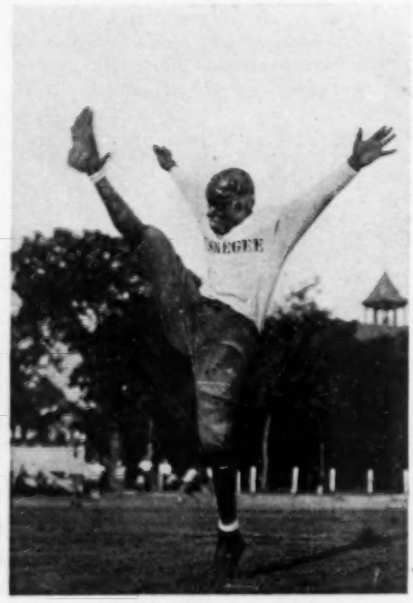
By Paul W. L. Jones

FORTY-TWO years ago Tuskegee Institute and Atlanta university played the first Negro college football game in the South, and Lincoln university (Pa.) and Howard university engaged in the first contest in the East. At that date only about a half dozen colleges had football teams. Squads were small, and many varsity teams had but eleven players. In 1897 Shaw university organized a team, and for several years thereafter was "monarch of all" it surveyed. Two years later Morehouse (then called Atlanta Baptist College), Talladega, Fisk, Meharry and Knoxville broke into the sport, and Negro college football began to grow in popularity. By 1901 many colleges had well organized athletic committees that sponsored interesting sports programs and regular football schedules each fall.

Some of the hardest fought games in Negro college football history were played during the years between 1901 and 1911, among them Atlanta's 5 to 0 triumph over Morehouse in 1901, Lincoln's 6 to 5 win over Howard in 1902, and Shaw's 6 to 5 defeat of Howard, Lincoln's 5 to 0 victory over Shaw, the 0-0 Tuskegee-Talladega fracas, and Fisk's 10 to 5 beating of Knoxville in 1905. In 1905, too, Morehouse evened matters with Atlanta to the tune of 27 to 0, and Meharry beat Fisk 5 to 0. The next year (1906), Shaw and Howard met twice, Shaw winning the first game 5 to 0, and Howard taking the second 11 to 5. The same season Morehouse won from Fisk (18-6) and Talladega (23-0), Knoxville downed Fisk 11 to 10, and Fisk defeated Meharry 10 to 7. In 1907 Hampton and Virginia Union staged a 0-0 tie which is still talked about.

Near the close of the period, in 1909 Hampton beat Lincoln 5 to 0, and Kentucky State took the measure of Wilberforce by the score of 6 to 5. The next year Kentucky State was defeated by Wilberforce 12 to 0, and by West Virginia State 6 to 0.

In 1912 Hampton, Lincoln, Virginia Union, Shaw and Howard banded together as the Colored Intercollegiate Athletic Association. They were joined later by Virginia State, St. Paul, North Carolina A. & T., Morgan, Bluefield and North Carolina State. In 1913 Talladega, Tuskegee, Morehouse, Fisk, Clark, Atlanta, Morris Brown and Alabama State formed the Southeastern Intercollegiate Athletic Association.



BEN STEVENSON
All-time fullback

Later Wiley, Prairie View, Bishop, Texas and Sam Houston organized the Southwestern Association. In 1931 West Virginia State, Wilberforce, Kentucky State, Lincoln (Mo.) and Louisville Municipal formed the Midwest Conference, later taking in Tennessee State. There is also a South Atlantic Association, a Middle Atlantic Association, and several other conferences that boast strong teams whose playing attracts thousands of football enthusiasts each fall.

From time to time, in all of these conferences, players appeared who won wide-spread applause and berths on mythical "All Negro American" teams. Among these a few were outstanding, and, although their playing days are over, they are still remembered and praised by coaches, players, sport writers and fans. Most prominent among them are: ends, Rivers (Talladega), Kean (Fisk), Lancaster (Lincoln), Turner (West Virginia State), Williams (Oklahoma, Langston), Reeves (Clark), Jeffries (Bluefield), Ruffin (Virginia Union), Dalton (Clark), Fowler (Wilberforce), and Reed (Kentucky State); tackles and guards, Miller (North Carolina A. & T.), Gallion (Bluefield), Scott (West Virginia State), Redd and Kinmon (Wiley), Irving (Morehouse), Bates (Prairie View), Nurse and Doakes (Howard), Lee and Gaines (Hampton), Lamar (Atlanta), Coger (Alabama State), Spignor (Southern) and Rettig (Wilberforce); centers, Dabney (Hampton), Tadlock (Tuskegee), Buchanan (Wilberforce), Tobin (Virginia Union), Smith (Morehouse) and Lewis (Virginia State); quarterbacks, Ritchie (Wilberforce), Whedbee (Fisk), Carter (Howard), Cain (Bluefield), Breaux (Virginia Union), Moberly (Tuskegee) and Patterson (Wiley); and half and fullbacks, Bullock, Law, Byrds and "Whirlwind" Johnson (Lincoln), Barco (Virginia Union), Terry, Gray and Payne (Howard), Paul Smith (Hampton), Sheppard (Paul Quinn), Ward (Wilberforce), Bailey, Stevenson and Shanklin (Tuskegee), "Tubby" Johnson and Wiggins (Fisk), Eaves and Cardwell (West Virginia State), Cox (Talladega), Coleman (North Carolina A. & T.), Hardin (Wiley), Jones (Oklahoma, Langston), Conrad and Troupe (Morgan), Mitchell (Shaw), Bounds (Virginia State) and Kendall (Kentucky State). From this group I select the following all time team:

Ends—WILLIAMS (Oklahoma Langston) and RIVERS (Talladega)

Tackles—GALLION (Bluefield) and IRVING (Morehouse)

Guards—MILLER (North Carolina A. A. & T.) and SCOTT (West Virginia State)

Center—DABNEY (Hampton)

Quarterback—RITCHIE (Wilberforce)

Halfbacks—JOHNSON (Fisk) and KENDALL (Kentucky State)

Fullback—STEVENSON (Tuskegee).

Williams was the greatest pass snatcher Negro football has seen. He loved football, and footballs seemed to love him, for he experienced no difficulties in coaxing them into his arms whenever they were thrown his way. He was great, too, at passing, running with the ball, punting, tackling and blocking. Rivers was a sure catcher of passes, fast and aggressive. His swiftness of foot made him hard to catch and his ability to throw off tacklers made him a hard man to stop. Both Williams and Rivers were adept

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Editorials

Either Federal Action or Continued Lynching

THERE are only two questions involved in a discussion of lynching. One is: shall we have lynching in our country? The answer to that in recent years (due largely to the unremitting campaign of the N.A.A.C.P.) has been an almost unanimous and thunderous "No!" It is hardly possible today to find anyone in any section of the country of any prominence or influence who will condone lynching openly. There is not a newspaper of reputation which does not consistently fight against mob rule.

The other and more difficult question is: how shall lynching be stopped? Here there is a marked difference of opinion. A host of persons believes the only effective method to be federal action against lynchers. Another section believes the matter should be left to the states.

These latter persons rest their case solely upon the states' rights theory of our government and choose to close their eyes to the fact that lynching goes on apace under the noses of the state governments. The believers in federal action point out that the states have done little or nothing to stop lynching, even when they know a lynching is to take place, and even when they have been supplied with names of alleged lynchers after a crime has been staged. Moreover, even when subsequent investigation has established clearly the open collusion of peace officers with mobs, the states have remained impotent.

In support of these points we may cite the lynching of Claude Neal, in Marianna, Fla., October 26, 1934—known twelve hours in advance; the lynching of Govan Ward, at Louisburg, N. C., July 30, 1935, where names of members of the mob were presented to the state officials; and the lynching of Bennie Thompson at Ninety Six, S. C., October 8, 1933, where the chief of police left the jail door unlocked for the convenience of the mob.

A new anti-lynching bill is to be introduced in the 75th congress next month. There will be some difference of opinion on various sections of the bill, but the greatest argument is certain to turn upon the question of whether the states or the central government should curb mobs. Certain legislators who never lose any sleep over the Constitution will emerge as ardent and highly technical constitutionalists. They will scan that document and find no way in which the government of all the people can lay a restraining hand upon mobs bent upon roasting a human being and lynching law and order. Yet they found a way to allow the government to track down and punish kidnaping, despite the fact that kidnaping often is as local a crime as lynching. Nowadays, under the federal kidnaping law, it is a common occurrence to rush the famed G-men to any spot upon the mere rumor of a kidnaping, with absolutely no evidence that a state line has been crossed or is contemplated being crossed. The government wiped out kidnaping; it ought to wipe out lynching.

Murder in Michigan, Slavery in Arkansas

TWO verdicts reached last week in widely separated areas, in cases where Negroes were the victims, illustrate, we believe, why certain federal laws are needed in the South, more than in other sections of the country.

In Michigan a jury in a regular state court, trying members of the Black Legion for murdering a Negro war veteran, found the five defendants guilty of first degree murder. The conviction carries a life sentence. The entire action was taken under state laws, by state and county officials.

On the other hand, in Earle, Ark., the federal government had to step in and prosecute Paul Peacher, local plantation owner and deputy sheriff, for enslaving Negroes on his plantation. Peacher had a racket which is well known in the rural South. Whenever help is needed on the plantations and Negroes are slow to accept the starvation wages offered, constables round up all visible Negroes, charge them with vagrancy, fine them, and then lease them out to some handy plantation owner to work out the fine.

Although this is a well-known practice throughout the South, nothing has ever been done by local courts, under state laws, to stop it. The United States government had to be called in. A federal judge sat and a federal jury heard the evidence and brought in the verdict.

The Peacher case shows why we need a federal anti-lynching law, especially for Dixie. Michigan tracked down its Black Legion murderers and sent them to prison for life—for killing a Negro. If the Black Legion had been operating in Florida, South Carolina, Georgia or Mississippi, the killers would be walking the streets today, grinning impudently and plotting other murders.

Since the South will not punish slavers and lynchers, the federal government must do so.

"No Ways Tired"

PEOPLE who speak at religious testimonal meetings are fond of saying they are "no ways tired" of the struggle they are making to be good church members and go home to heaven. We think it is a good motto for the people who have been fighting these many years for a federal anti-lynching bill. Another congress is soon to convene. Another anti-lynching campaign is soon to start. We should not be discouraged. Remember how long women worked to get the vote. Remember how long the veterans fought for the bonus. Remember that millions of people are still fighting for a federal child labor amendment. Resolve to do your share. Your activity may mean one less life jerked out at the end of a rope or one less human being burned alive.

Our White Folks

WE had not intended to say anything about the troubles of former King Edward VIII and the British empire, but the Archbishop of Canterbury's radio speech after the King's abdication is too much for us. Our white folks have no idea how funny they are, prating ponderously over "fast social sets" and the morality of divorce, all the while winking at international murder, the rape of free peoples, and the grinding down of the poor.

For Justice

THE National Association for the Advancement of Colored People is shortly to launch a campaign to raise money to carry on legal defense work and fight against lynching. The last time the association campaigned for legal defense funds was in 1925, at the time of the famous Sweet case, in Detroit. All the legal defense work since then has been carried on with funds raised at that time. They are now exhausted and there is a deficit in the fund so that the N.A.A.C.P. is forced to turn down tragic pleas for legal aid. All persons who know of the outrages committed upon defenseless Negroes in the courts should rally to this campaign.

Texas Lynching

(*Continued from page 7*)

establishment of a White employer warning him to discharge Negro help and employ Whites, and the period of persecution of the Negroes during the months immediately after the lynching. It seems safe to say that in Leeville the racial attitude of the wealthier Whites is still paternalistic, while the poor Whites hate the Negro as an economic competitor, whose color furnishes a good attacking point.

Attitudes Relating to the Lynching

Individuals: Individual attitudes toward the lynching were of three rather distinct types based on the economic status of the individual:

A. On the whole, the wealthier people, who did not compete with the Negro but used him for odd jobs, disapproved heartily of the lynching, not for intellectual or humanitarian reasons, particularly, but because (1) they emotionally preferred to have law and order, (2) they hated to see their town receive the consequent adverse publicity.

B. Generally speaking, the middle class economic group disapproved of the affair not because of the loss of life involved but because it distressed them to see property destroyed. Many of them were present at the lynching as "observers," and a few became excited enough to lend moral support to the actual lynchers. Their usual comment was, "I blame the judge. When he saw the terrible mob, he should have ordered the sheriff to start back to the jail with the Negro. Then the mob could have got him without burning the courthouse."

C. The lowest economic group, who compete with the Negro, furnished the actual mob and will be discussed later in this article.

Churches: The attitude of the Leeville churches was colored by the economic factor. Pastors of the four largest churches, which are attended principally by the wealthier and the middle economic groups, condemned the lawlessness. Pastors of the outlying churches—in the poorer districts around the cotton mill, railroad shops, etc.—avoided discussion of the lynching because they knew that many of their members were in sympathy with it. One pastor on the east side of town, who was bold enough to censure the mob from his pulpit, was immediately waited upon by a committee of his members and advised to refrain from further mention of the subject if he expected to retain his position.

The Press: Although the Leeville daily paper undoubtedly contributed to the rise of the mob by carrying detailed stories of the crime, and by publishing the rumor about the Rangers being ordered not to shoot, yet this effect seems to have been an inadvertent one arising from the usual newspaper practices. On the other hand, after the lynching occurred, the editor continually condemned the mob caustically, saying editorially the next day:

> "The mob is never right. It is always wrong, and unreasonable, and dangerous—Leeville's name has been dishonored by the people of her own county. It will take a generation to outlive the stain on her honor, if it ever can be done."

Small weeklies in the nearby villages confined themselves, for the most part, to reporting only the news items about the lynching.

Officials: The Rangers undoubtedly did their best to protect their prisoners against unusual handicaps. On the whole, the sheriff's force did its duty, especially up until the courthouse was fired. The young National Guardsmen showed unusual discipline in their fights with the crowd, and they and their officers did an excellent piece of work during the period of martial law in ferreting out the mobsmen and turning them over to the civil authorities.

It is highly probable that the judge refused to change venue in the first place because he little suspected that such an outrage could occur in Leeville. But some of his fellow citizens believe that he was interested in the political advantage of a notorious trial.

The county attorney was courageous in helping protect the Negro before the trial. But he seemed interested primarily in another death penalty for his record and in a widely publicized case in which he would be cast in a popular role. He obtained the help of a man who lived near the assaulted woman to point out veniremen from her community, enabling him to select a biased jury. Furthermore, it seems that it was not necessary for him to have the woman brought to court to get a conviction, because the death penalty was, in his words, "a cinch;" and the trial, had it been completed, would have been another "legal lynching." He became heated in talking to the writer about the Negro and referred to him as a "damn black son-of-a-b——."

The city firemen at first made an effort to extinguish the courthouse fire, but, after the riot, failed almost unanimously to help identify mob members who cut their hose and attacked them.

The city police made practically no effort either during or after the lynching to help uphold law and order. During the lynching they confined most of their activity to directing traffic. It is, perhaps, significant to note that the assaulted woman was a relative of one of the most popular policemen.

Attitudes Reflected by Degree of Cooperation with Military Investigation: During the next few days after the outbreak the military authorities conducted a thorough investigation court. All public spirited citizens were invited to give them information and were promised secrecy. Practically none of the real community leaders as pastors, teachers, attorneys, college alumni, bankers, and big business men took advantage of this opportunity to help punish the mob members. The records of this court show that practically all of the 64 people not suspected of complicity who testified before the court were given specific individual orders to appear, and a few were brought in forcibly by the officers. Twenty-three were cooperative; the cooperation of 10 others was doubtful; and 31 were plainly evasive, either because of sympathy for the mob, or fear of retribution from mob members. Witness after witness answered under oath that he had been in the crowd all day, that he had lived all his life in and around Leeville and thus knew most of its inhabitants, and yet he could not remember having recognized anyone among the thousands of people present during the day. Particularly was this the attitude of all but a few of the city firemen and policemen.

The Mob Personnel

Perhaps there should be some distinction made between the terms "crowd" and "mob." In the great crowd of thousands of curious spectators there were three types:

A. Many fine citizens who opposed the lawlessness, but dared not do anything about it—mostly of the upper economic group.
B. Many more who did not participate, but were either indifferent or in favor of the lynching—mostly of the middle economic group.
C. The active mob—mostly of the lowest economic group who may be said, in general, to compete with the Negro.

The Active Mob

A compilation of data on the men and boys charged or suspected by the military authorities, and some others revealed by private investigation, gives a fairly accurate sample of the active mob. Table I classifies 58 of these individuals by occupational status:

(*Continued on page 20*)

From the Press of the Nation

Editorial of the Month

"Life" Laments Miscegenation

Pittsburgh, Pa., *Courier*

THE former humorous magazine, "Life," has been taken over by "Time," the news magazine, and is now published as an elaborate illustrated weekly popularly priced.

In its first issue "Life" devotes five pages to Brazil, the biggest American republic, and the burden of its text is lamenting the "tragedy" of race mixture in that vast melting pot.

Several hundred million people could live in plenty on Brazil's vast plateau, it moans, but the country is going to pot because the Brazilians, though charming people, "are incurably lazy."

This laziness is attributed to the fact that "The original Portuguese conquistadors did not bring their wives, married Indian aborigines, and their descendants added the blood of Negro slaves to the strain. The mixture did not work."

"Brazil," it continues tearfully, "once produced most of the world's sugar and rubber. It lost both these businesses by sheer laziness to more energetic races. . . . Only big cash crop is coffee, grown by white men on the temperate southern plateau of Sao Paulo."

Commenting further on the extent to which the Brazilians are "mixed," it ends regretfully "Brazilian Negroes all have the vote, move on terms of legal equality with pure white men."

In the first place, admitting that the Brazilians are incurably lazy, perhaps as lazy as our own Southern poor whites and aristocratic Northern wasters, are they any different than other tropical peoples? Where in tropical America is the population noted for its thrift and energy? We used to hear a great deal about the laziness of the Russians, but we hear it no more since they have a real reason for being energetic.

Brazil's sugar and rubber, like our cotton, were produced by slave and peon labor driven by the lash, kept illiterate by a cruel, lazy and lecherous white minority.

Since 1886 the Brazilian slaves have been free. Like all free men, they refuse to produce slave crops, so Brazil has lost her supremacy in sugar and rubber to Cuba and the Dutch East Indies.

One glance at the plight of the masses of people in Cuba and Java is sufficient to justify the Brazilian attitude. It is one thing to produce great crops. It is quite another thing to get something for them. The Brazilian farmer is evidently more satisfied to produce a little on his small farm for himself than a great deal on a plantation for an absentee owner.

It is because there is absolute social equality in Brazil that it is, next to Russia, the greatest democracy on earth. Our vast Republic has long had an opportunity to lead the world in this respect, but it has had neither the courage nor the vision to do so.

We have a notion, too, that it is less reprehensible to cultivate laziness than to tolerate lynching.

Perhaps colored people should support businesses owned by colored people. But any business man who starts a business with the fixed idea that some special group should support his business because he is a member of that group, has failed before he starts.

Business institutions succeed because they give the people what they want at prices that are fair and reasonable. The public demands service and the business man, white or black, who gives the better service gets the most business. The sooner colored people stop yelping about members of their race supporting them because of their color and get down to the hard rules of business which demand support, the sooner will they succeed. . . .

Colored people will support one another. They have done so and will continue so to do, if those who have charge of the business will render careful and useful service. After all, that is what counts in this world in which we live. Business people of color should stop complaining about lack of support and demand support by rendering service.—Philadelphia, Pa., *Tribune*.

On January 1, Secretary Ickes will move into his new $12,000,000 Department of the Interior building, with a plain but magnificent exterior. It covers five and one-half acres of ground, providing daylight for every worker and numerous luxuries no government clerk ever had before, such as lounge, radio broadcast studio and the largest cafeteria in Washington. The building has two miles of corridors and 700,000 square feet of office room. Mr. Ickes has several times in public addresses expressed his interest in workers and has said colored citizens should have the same treatment as all other citizens. Let us hope that he will not soil the new building by moving into it the many evil color segregations which befouled the old Department of the Interior.—Boston, Mass., *Guardian*.

Roosevelt has become the toast of South America as a result of his sweetness of manner, eloquence of speech, prodigality of promise. He upheld in glowing terms the Monroe doctrine, breathed fiery defiance to any European power that dared defile American shores by coming for conquest. There is hope now that he may become equally courageous in protecting American citizens who happen to be colored, from American mobs that happen to be white.—Cincinnati *Union*.

A son of the President is to marry a daughter of the rich. A son-in-law is to manage the Hearst newspaper in Seattle. It is very evident from these two facts that the differences so prominent during the campaign are not a bar to business and social relations among the people who have power and wealth. They should serve as a lesson to Negroes. . . .—The *Call*, Kansas City, Mo.

The *Richmond Planet* rejoices in the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States to review the case of Angelo Herndon, convicted under the old slave statute of Georgia and sentenced to serve 20 years on a Georgia chain gang. . . .

And be it remembered, the only offense charged against Herndon was that he led a group of starving and poorly clad men, women and children appealing to their rulers for relief from their sufferings and that he had in his possession literature which can be found in any good book shop or library in the United States. It is fervently to be hoped that this ruling of the nation's highest tribunal marks the beginning of the end of this blight upon American justice.—Richmond *Planet*.

Texas Lynching

(*Continued from page* 18)

TABLE I

Active Mob Members Classified By Occupational Status

Do not work, or do odd jobs	8
Unemployed teen age boys	6
High School boys	5
Total unemployed	19
Mill and factory workers	7
Road workers	4
Truck driver	1
Shrubbery worker at nursery	1
Total common laborers	13
Farmers and farm-hands	8
Total farmers	8
Mechanics	4
Welder-plumber	1
Cement worker	1
Bricklayer	1
Railroad switchman	1
Total skilled laborers	8
Grocery store operator	2
Filling station operator	1
Dry goods store operator	1
Total owners of small town businesses	4
Gin operator	1
Advertising manager of a department store	1
Bank clerk (a youth)	1
Total salaried people	3
Fruit peddler	1
Banjo player and singer	1
Insurance agent	1
Total miscellaneous	3

At least 11 of the active participants in the riot were known to have had previous police records. Nine had been in the hands of the law for stealing, fighting or bootlegging (this was before repeal). Two were under suspended sentence for stealing; and one, a hobo, had spent 12 years as an inmate of an insane asylum.

Pertinent Facts About the Most Active Lynchers[2]

The acknowledged leader of the mob was a man 40 years old who could neither read nor write, and had no particular profession, but occasionally did a little cattle trading and "bronc bustin" in rodeos. He drank a great deal, and was described by officers as "a rough and ready bully." He had been before the courts several times as a bootlegger. With his wife and little daughter he lived in a shabby part of town near some Negro shanties. He owned no property, and belonged to no church. The wife provided most of the family's support by taking in washing. His attitude at the opening of the vault was described as that of a great benefactor—a protector of womanhood—doing his duty in a brave and dramatic manner. A few years after the lynching he was killed in a drunken brawl on a South Texas sheep ranch.

The boy who was given the two-year prison term was 17 years old, his father was dead, and his mother was a low paid worker at a shirt factory. At an early age he began truanting from school, stealing chickens, coming into the hands of the police, and was eventually brought before the courts for cattle stealing. At this time he had returned from prison and had again been before the courts for stealing.

One of the men who helped open the vault later had trouble with a farmer because he raped the farmer's wife. Another committed suicide some years after the lynching, indicating emotional instability. Still another mob member was an inebriate; and the hobo member, at the time of the lynching, was sleeping in a city park and confessed that his breakfasts consisted of bread and milk stolen early in the morning from various grocery stores. He had often been picked up for vagrancy in other cities following his release from the insane asylum. An 18 year old boy who fought the firemen was described by those who knew him as "a sort of a half-wit." Only one of the 14 indicted owned a home.

The five high school participants are all described by school officials as problem boys, "overgrown and hungry for notoriety." The mother of one was a prostitute, and the father of one (a city fireman) committed suicide recently. Two boys from fairly well fixed homes were involved.

A summation of the evidence about the personnel of the mob indicates that the active leaders and participants—most from the lowest economic group—included:

(1) Some vicious criminals.

(2) Many teen age, excitable youths, impatient at restraints of the law.

(3) Many propertyless, uneducated, unattached men of the domino parlor clientele type.

A Mixed-Race Sexual Theory

The question has often been raised why white men and sometimes white women become so insanely infuriated at sex relations, either forced or voluntary, between Negro men and White women. There is usually no intense excitement when a white man rapes a white woman. Such a case recently occurred in the county where murder as well as rape was committed. Yet the white culprit received an orderly trial. When a Negro man assaults a Negro woman in Leeville, the customary penalty is a fine of $12.50. Furthermore, the investigation disclosed that some of the young white boys and older loafers of Leeville patronize Negro prostitutes, and some of the white farm laborers arrange illicit relations with rural Negro women.

In the light of these facts the following theory—not a proved conclusion—is suggested: It is a well known tenet of Freudian psychology that when a human mind contains some thought material which is repulsive to the morals of the group, such material is forcibly relegated to deep corners of the subconscious mind to make the consciousness more comfortable. Buried in the subconscious, these thoughts struggle for release and expression. Many times they evade the social censor of consciousness by finding expression in reversed forms or indirect activities. Could it be that these men of the lowest (and sometimes the highest) social strata become so infuriated at a Negro's rape of a white woman because of the guilty enjoyment they have received from socially disapproved sex play with Negro women? Or, again, do they have an almost subconscious curiosity as to whether or not their own white women folk would likewise enjoy mixed-race sex relations? Or yet again, perhaps they have had mental imageries and reveries of obtaining satisfying sex experiences by assault, near-assault, or seduction methods; and, therefore, have a subconscious resentment against the Negro's doing what they, themselves, dare not, or, perhaps, have not had the opportunity to do. Furthermore, could it be that these loud and boisterous women taking leading parts in lynchings of Negroes are giving indirect expression to subconscious reveries they themselves may have had of such mixed-sex relations?

Final General Conclusion

The rape case was only an excuse for overt conflict that would eventually have come anyhow, because of the irritation of the poor whites at the increased prosperity of the business and professional Negroes. The lynching, however, was more than an economic struggle at the bottom. It was aided and abetted by the passive attitude, indifference, or open approval of the upper economic classes, and was therefore, a community phenomenon.

Sources

1. Hundreds of interviews with the people of Leeville and surrounding territory, National Guard Officers, sheriff's force, and other officials.

2. Two volumes of secret testimony taken by the Military Court of Investigation.

3. Files of newspapers of Leeville and the nearby city dailies, including some Negro papers.

4. Pamphlets, books, and other data published by the Commission on Inter-racial Cooperation.

5. For further sources and complete bibliography, see Durward Pruden, op. cit.

[2] For detailed case studies of mob members see complete thesis, Durwood Pruden, "A Sociological Study of a Texas Lynching," Southern Methodist University, 1935.

Lady Blanche

(*Continued from page* 11)

Lady Blanche, than when she heard at her hearth-stone.

"Perhaps the minstrel too, would see the Christ," she mused, as the sound came nearer.

Then the minstrel came in view, harping his strange, sad melody. And by the lady's side he stopped.

"What seek ye, Lady Blanche?" he asked.

"The Christ, of whom ye told, good minstrel," spoke the lady.

"And have ye not seen him, Lady fair?" asked the minstrel.

"Nay, though I have waited long, and am cold, even in my warmest cloak," answered Lady Blanche.

"Did no one pass this live-long night?" asked the minstrel.

"Aye. Three people passed, but they did not count," answered the lady.

"Who were these people who did not count?" The minstrel's voice was stern.

"The first to pass was a man. All brown of skin he was, and dressed in flowing robes, and wearing on his head a turban pinned with a crescent moon," made answer the lady.

"Spake ye to the man, fair lady?" asked the minstrel.

"Nay. He was not of my kith and kind," quoth the lady, upraising her hands.

"And who passed next?" and the minstrel drew a deep, sad note from his harp.

"A woman passed," answered Lady Blanche, "a woman yellow of skin, and wearing robes richly-wrought with threads of gold."

"Gave ye the woman a sister's kiss?" asked the minstrel, and his voice was low and kind.

"Oh, nay! My kiss was for the Christ!' cried the lady, "and the woman —she was not my kind."

"And then who passed?" the minstrel asked, and he drew a note from his harp that was deep and sad, so that it brought tears to the lady's eyes.

"A child, all black, stood just behind this tree," answered the lady, "and he was hungry and cold."

"Fed ye this child, and gave ye him a cloak?" asked the minstrel.

"Nay! He belonged not to my kind," answered Lady Blanche.

Then did a wondrous thing come to pass. The minstrel threw his harp on the ground, and where it fell sprang up a bush with deep green leaves and berries like to drops of deep red blood. And the minstrel grew terrible to behold. His stature was greater than the stature of any one on earth. Around him floated robes whiter than the sifting snow, and seamless from top to hem. And a great light shone around him, and he spoke in a voice soft and sad, yet terrible, like the sounds he had drawn from his harpstrings.

And Lady Blanche fell on her knees, and hearkened to the words he spoke:

"Know ye, proud lady, that the Christ ye seek has passed ye thrice this night? Each time he asked for the thing that is hardest for you to give, and that is love to all mankind. Know ye not, fair lady, that your Christ saves all manner of men? Then henceforth see ye me in all men. As long as ye live, remember what the minstrel sang at your hearthstone; Christ blesses those who give what is hardest to give."

Then the sad voice ceased; there was a rustle as of a wind of spring, and then the silence once more. When lady Blanche unveiled her eyes, she was alone. Then with slow steps she went back to her proud castle. But ever since that night, the gates swing wide to all men, whatsoever their kind.

All Time Team

(*Continued from page* 16)

at downing punts at dangerous points in enemy territory.

Gallion and Irving stand out as the finest offensive and defensive tackles of Negro college grid history. Miller and Scott were guards that outplayed and out fought all opponents in their position, and they left footprints on the gridiron difficult of duplication.

Dabney was everywhere he was needed during games. As passer, back and line ripper, he was superb. Strong, thoughtful, courageous, his playing was a thorn in the side of his enemies. He was a most excellent tackler.

Ritchie was not only a brainy field general, but a passer, ball carrier, punter, pass catcher, blocker and tackler of miraculous ability. Up to now, he is the only Negro college quarterback to possess all these qualities in full measure.

Johnson was a great line splitter and open field runner, and was good in all departments of play. His sweeps around end and his plunges through the line, are talked about today by players who opposed him and by hundreds of fans who saw him in action.

Kendall was the most accurate and dangerous pass thrower Negro football has known. No back before or during his time can boast a record such as his. He sent his passes away when as many as six opponents were trying to down him. At twisting, squirming, dodging and ducking, he was master, and all his passes found their mark. For three years against some of the best teams of the Midwest, South, Southeast and Southwest, Kendall passed his team to victory. He was a splendid punter and usually kicked the ball where it caused the enemy the most worry and inconvenience.

The most colorful and versatile player Negro football has produced was Stevenson. He could do everything a gridiron battler is expected to do, and he could do it well. At carrying the ball, he had no equal, and at freeing himself from tacklers, he was top of the trade. At taking the ball out of the air, he was great, and at ripping a line, he was past master. Football players may come and go, they may win bright laurels here and there, but it will be a long time, many long years, before a player appears who will rival the record of "Steve".

RITCHIE
Wilberforce, quarterback

Along the N.A.A.C.P. Battlefront

Seven-point Legislative Program by N.A.A.C.P.

With the opening of the 75th congress in January the N.A.A.C.P. focused its attention on seven particular legislative matters, with a federal anti-lynching bill, of course, leading the list.

The anti-lynching bill will be introduced in the House and the Senate and will be pushed in the House rather than in the Senate. The association is calling upon all groups of persons interested in federal legislation to support the campaign in the new congress.

The association is also actively interested in the Harrison-Fletcher bill which provides federal monies to the states for education. In its present form the bill would turn money over to the states and there will be no guarantee that in any state where separate schools exist colored people would receive their just share.

The association is also watchful of the proposed farm tenant and sharecropper aid bill. It is contemplating a campaign to insure the voting of colored people in the South where they are now disfranchised and it is watching for an opportunity to bring about some changes in the social security act so as to include more Negro workers. The N.A.A.C.P. stands ready to assist any movements for improving the administration of the civil service and also for plans destined to help prevent discrimination in additional recovery and relief measures.

Ohio Civil Rights Act May Be Amended

Following the refusal of the Ohio supreme court to review the case of Sissle vs. Harvey arising in Cleveland, it is likely that Ohio citizens will endeavor to have the state legislature amend the present civil rights act which was passed in 1894.

The Sissle case grew out of the refusal of Harvey, Inc., located in the Terminal Tower building of Cleveland, to sell Mrs. Sissle a dress because she is a colored woman. She sued in the municipal court and won damages of $100, but the dress shop appealed to a higher court and won upon its contention that the dress shop was not a place of public accommodation within the meaning of the Ohio civil rights law. The Ohio law names several places of public accommodation, but does not mention dress shops as such. When Mrs. Sissle appealed to the Ohio supreme court from the decision of the Cuyahoga court of appeals, the supreme court refused to review and thus, in effect, sustained the opinion of the court of appeals.

Attorneys for Mrs. Sissle were Chester K. Gillespie, president of the Cleveland N.A.A.C.P. branch, and Norman L. McGhee. No appeal to the United States supreme court is contemplated because there is no federal question involved.

Unequal Teachers' Salaries To Be Attacked

Plans for legal action in the courts of Maryland attacking the inequalities in the salary scales for white and colored teachers have been perfected by the N.A.A.C.P. and it is expected that suit will be filed by January 1.

A survey of salaries for colored and white teachers shows that the colored teachers are paid an annual average of some $500,000 less than white teachers.

Mobile Postmaster Appoints Negro

Postmaster William B. Taylor of Mobile, Ala., on November 25 appointed a colored mail carrier. This appointment followed strong protests to the postmaster general in Washington, D. C. by the national office of the N.A.A.C.P. because Postmaster Taylor had passed over two colored eligibles on the civil service list and appointed two white men between September 1 and November 15.

Mississippi Trio Accepts Short Prison Terms

Ed Brown, Yank Ellington and Henry Shields, the three Mississippi farm laborers who had been convicted and sentenced to death for the murder of a white tenant farmer in Kemper County, Miss., decided to accept short prison terms offered them late in November rather than go through a second series of trials.

The three men had had their convictions reversed by the United States supreme court last February on the grounds that the only evidence against them had been their "confessions" extorted by torture. It was thought at the time that the state of Mississippi would not go through with a second trial, but the state had the cases post-

The Post Office "400" Club of Chicago, Ill., joined the N.A.A.C.P. 100% in a recent drive conducted there by Mrs. Daisy E. Lampkin, field secretary. Back row, left to right: Ernest Outlaw, Frank Howell, Jr., Henry B. Alexander, financial secretary; J. McB. Smith, Burford Otis, Edgar Craig, Verlie L. Smith. Center row, left to right: Chaucey I. Bradley, Corliss C. Mitchell, parliamentarian; E. Hutchinson, Edward S. Page, Arties R. Phillips, Maurice H. Bibbs, Carl C. Elliott, chairman ways and means committee; Newton A. Williams. Seated left to right: William A. Little, corresponding secretary; Fenton K. Tankersley, vice-president; Francis W. Bracy, president; William Eric Brooks, treasurer; Willis J. Parker, recording secretary; and Stephen L. Charles, sergeant at arms

poned again and again, went back to the grand jury and secured new indictments said to have been based on "new evidence" and was prepared to go through with new trials. It was a foregone conclusion that certain conviction and life sentences, at the very least, would have been the lot of the prisoners. The state was said to have made up a strong case against Ed Brown with the two other men implicated in the crime.

At first the prosecutor suggested that the men plead guilty and take life sentences. This was refused flatly by Earl Brewer, Esq., defense counsel. Finally the prosecutor suggested a six-months' term for Ellington; two and one-half years for Shields; and seven and one-half years for Brown. The men were consulted and all stated they would rather accept these terms than take a chance on the electric chair, life imprisonment, or further extended litigation.

Legal Defense Fund Campaign in February

A nation-wide campaign to raise funds exclusively for anti-lynching work and legal defense will be inaugurated by the N.A.A.C.P. immediately after the first of the year. Most intensive work is scheduled for the month of February, the birthday month of the association. A sale of anti-lynching and legal defense buttons will be under the direction of Mrs. Daisy E. Lampkin, field secretary, who will come to the national office for the purpose of running the campaign. Branches are urged to appoint chairmen in charge of this button sale and to recruit large numbers of teams to assist in the sale. Accompanying the sale of buttons, but in charge of another director, will be a campaign to secure larger contributions to the legal defense fund—gifts of $5 to $5,000.

The legal defense fund of the association is totally exhausted and many cases have had to be turned down in the last year because of the lack of funds. The association raised a legal defense fund in 1926 at the time of the Sweet case and since that time has been using the money for its court cases. Even with the greatest economy, however, the fund has finally been exhausted and if the important work in the courts is not to be hampered, new moneys must be raised.

St. Louis Branch Opposes School Site

A proposal of the board of education of St. Louis to build a new elementary school on the present grounds surrounding the Vashon high school has met with the opposition of St. Louis citizens led by the St. Louis branch of the N.A.A.C.P. The branch contends that the location of this new school will crowd the Vashon high school and will not allow sufficient play space for the pupils of the new school and will also force them to play with the high school students. Support is given to their argument of crowded conditions by the presence on the Vashon high school grounds of portable buildings which further reduce the play space. The citizens assert that even without the portable buildings and the proposed new school, the grounds surrounding Vashon are smaller than any grounds around any high school erected in St. Louis in the past 15 years. A hearing has been held by the board on the protest but no decision has been announced. Meanwhile the branch has filed a petition for an injunction in the circuit court asking to restrain the school board from erecting the new building.

School Board Hears Protest on CRISIS Ban

On December 2 the board of education of the District of Columbia held a hearing on the proposal to ban THE CRISIS from the list of approved publications for the schools of the District. Early in 1936 THE CRISIS and *Opportunity*, official organ of the National Urban League, were temporarily removed from the approved list because both used the word "nigger" in poems and stories, and because THE CRISIS carried articles commenting upon Soviet Russia. The recommendation to remove the magazines was made by Dr. Garnet C. Wilkinson, first assistant superintendent of schools who is also an officer of the District of Columbia branch of the N.A.A.C.P. At the hearing on December 2, William H. Hastie spoke outlining the general protest against the banning of THE CRISIS; Doxey A. Wilkerson, of the faculty of Howard University, submitted an analysis of the contents of THE CRISIS for the past year, showing the close relationship between them and certain courses in the District of Columbia schools; and Roy Wilkins, the editor of THE CRISIS, spoke objecting to the ban upon the magazine.

One member of the school board insisted upon asking all three speakers whether they belonged to any communistic organization and whether they had any "leanings" toward any communistic or socialistic philosophy. All three answered in the negative except Mr. Wilkins who declined to answer the second question.

A second memorandum has been submitted to the school board by Dr. Wilkinson in which no mention is made of the articles on Soviet Russia. The whole memorandum is directed at the use of the word "nigger." On this point all the speakers for THE CRISIS as well as Eugene K. Jones of the National Urban League, speaker for *Opportunity*, stated that the magazines did not use the epithet in a derogatory manner, but only in a literary sense and that its use on all occasions served to indicate that the word was objectionable to colored people and their friends.

At the suggestion of a member of the board a further conference between the editors of the two magazines and Dr. Wilkinson is to be held late in December to see whether or not an adjustment can be made.

The Twenty Club of Chicago, Ill., also joined the N.A.A.C.P. 100% during the recent membership drive. Standing, left to right: Douglas Firse, William Knox, J. T. Yarbrough, Lewis Hill, Jr., William O'Neil, George Clarke, Samuel Eaton, C. Blackman, James W. Curry, William Langston. Seated, left to right: James L. Hill, Earl V. Harrison, William L. Townsend, Barney B. Goldsmith, C. Lewis Hines, William H. Hudson, Thomas C. Strotter

Branch News

MEETINGS

"Get Acquainted." The **Media, Pa.,** branch had a "Get Acquainted Night" November 29 at the Second Baptist church.

Public invited. The Henderson, N. C., branch sponsored a mass meeting at Henderson Institute, November 25. The chief speaker was Dean William Pickens. W. J. Hare is president and the Rev. C. H. Williamson is secretary of the branch.

Lecture. William Pickens, director of branches of the N.A.A.C.P., gave a lecture at the Zion Methodist church in Wilson, N. C., November 24. He also spoke at Atlantic College.

Defense rally. The **Minneapolis Minn.,** branch of the N.A.A.C.P., with other organizations, sponsored a meeting to hear Angelo Herndon November 25 at the Phyllis Wheatley house.

Hear orator. The **Raleigh, N. C.,** branch had a mass meeting November 22 at Shaw Chapel to hear William Pickens, director of branches of the N.A.A.C.P. Mrs. Julia Delany, president of the branch, presided at the meeting.

Elect officers. The **San Diego, Calif.,** branch held its annual election of officers November 22 at a meeting in Bethel Baptist church. Dr. C. H. Hudson, state president, addressed the gathering.

Observe anniversary. The **Newport, R. I.,** branch celebrated its seventeenth anniversary November 24, in Mount Olivet Baptist church. James Bailey spoke on the subject, "What does the N.A.A.C.P. stand for?" The principal speaker of the evening was the Rev. J. Quinton Jackson. Solos were sung by Leroy Williams, president. The choirs of Mount Olivet, Mount Zion and Shiloh Baptist churches sang a group of songs.

Select officers. The **Monrovia, Calif.,** branch of the N.A.A.C.P. elected the following officers for the ensuing year: Lt. William W. Robinson was reelected president; Mrs. Blossie Adams, vice-president; Mrs. Georgia Abernathy, secretary; and F. O. Richardson, treasurer. An executive committee of nine members was elected. They are: Mrs. Mary Adams, Mrs. Ollie Barmore, John J. Biasotti, Tobias Couton, Olivia M. Cobb, Clay Hawkins, Jenny Lockett, Marie B. Robinson and Maud Simonds.

Secure positions. The **Princeton, N. J.,** branch emphasized the matter of employment as its chief activity during the past year. At its November meeting it was reported by the secretary, Carolyn P. Gates, that a clerkship in the American Stores had been secured and it is expected one will be obtained at the A. and P. stores.

During the year the following speakers addressed meetings: Judge Turp, Mr. Pickens, Mrs. Spaulding, Miss Shenstone, Miss Scott and Major R. R. Wright.

To present pageant. The **Dothan, Ala.,** branch, not yet a year old, will present a pageant of Negro progress on January 1, 1937. An address by Dr. F. D. Patterson, president of Tuskegee Institute, will follow.

Later a banquet at the high school, and a dance at the Elk's Rest are planned. Special efforts will be made at these benefits to raise money for both national and local work.

Discrimination ended. Dr. Miles of the **Saginaw, Mich.,** branch reported at the recent state conference that the matter of discrimination in a beer garden of the city had been stopped; that there was no trouble in theatres and very little in restaurants. The city has one colored policeman and two city employees, but no Negroes serving on juries. There are no eligible colored teachers.

Resolution. The committee on education of the **Michigan** branches passed the following resolution at the recent conference held at Saginaw: "Resolved, that the educational program of the Michigan conference of branches be identical with that of the parent body so far as applicable to our needs and conditions."

Discuss celebration. The **Springfield, Mass.,** branch discussed plans for celebrating its 20th anniversary at the annual meeting held November 4. The organization met in Olivet Community House.

All officers were reelected as follows: George C. Gordon, president; Frederick Henderson, vice-president; Dr. Bruce Bowens, secretary; Warrane Bryant, assistant secretary; Alford H. Tavernier, treasurer. The executive committee is composed of the officers and these additional members: Harry M. Ehrlich, Dr. William N. DeBerry, the Rev. E. L. Blake, James H. Higgins, Mrs. Jean D. Gordon, Charles A. Whaling, Charles H. Jones and C. R. Babcock.

A report by President Gordon of the year's activities follows.—Among the speakers at the monthly meetings were: the Massachusetts state treasurer and receiver general; the city supervisor of old age assistance; three Springfield college students, natives of Australia, India and Egypt; the Rev. Caffee, the new minister of Third Baptist church, and nine local colored citizens holding important positions in the community. At the closing meeting, before the summer recess, the Rev. E. L. Blake was in charge.

Cases of discrimination in employment and in public places were investigated and, where necessary, taken to court.

The branch protested the action of the Springfield 300th anniversary committee in ignoring the colored citizens in their plans for the occasion.

Contributions were made to the Scottsboro Defense Fund, Red Cross Relief and the Community Chest. The branch exceeded its quota set by the national office.

The membership campaign was aided by Roy Wilkins and Miss Juanita E. Jackson from the national office.

The treasurer, Alford Tavernier, submitted his report and the following recommendations were made by the president. The renewal of the branch's pledge to the Community Chest; a celebration for the 20th anniversary of the branch; adherence to the by-laws in having a ways and means committee to carry on the work independent of the membership campaign, and a recommendation that the spring entertainment be made an annual affair.

Name officers. The **Bridgeport, Conn.,** branch elected officers at a meeting at Walters Memorial A.M.E. church, November 10. John Wesley Lancaster, Jr., was elected president; Mrs. Liva Mitchell, vice-president; Albert Cannady, treasurer; MacDonald Isaacs, secretary and Mrs. Marie Whiting, assistant secretary.

Members of the executive board elected are, Daniel Jeanette, the Reverends A. F. Cuffee, F. W. Jacobs, G. C. Wainwright, J. A. Taylor, E. H. Collins, J. D. Wilson and F. Z. Flack; Elder Jones, Mrs. L. Woods, Cora Vaughn, Norwood Williams and William Blackwell.

Mrs. Woods was appointed chairman of the N.A.A.C.P. Christmas seal sale in Bridgeport.

Mrs. Bessie L. Henry of the **New Rochelle, N. Y.,** branch has been selected to represent the N.A.A.C.P. on the continuation committee of the Westchester County Peace Federation.

Elect officers. The **Jamaica, N. Y.,** branch met November 24 and elected its officers for the coming year. Dr. John A. Singleton, former president of the Omaha, Neb., branch was elected president. Miss Elizabeth Johnson, a teacher, was made vice-president and Frank M. Turner and Dr. Charles M. Reid were re-elected to the offices of secretary and treasurer, respectively.

The members of the executive committee are, Mrs. Romeo L. Dougherty, Mrs. John Powers, Mrs. Frank Turner, Mrs. Edward Brisbane, Mrs. James H. Hubert, Gordon Jones, G. W. A. Murray, H. N. English, Charles E. Shaw, Jr., and Moxey A. Rigby.

The president of the Congress of African Peoples of the World, Thomas Dosumi Johnson, a native of West Africa, spoke at the gathering. He urged residents of the community to attend the adult education classes held at Public School 40. Mr. Johnson is a teacher of Negro history there.

Dean William Pickens of the N.A.A.C.P., spoke before the **Suffolk, Va.,** branch at the First Baptist church, November 15. Dr. J. W. Pierce is president.

The **Roanoke, Va.,** branch held a public meeting November 12.

Executives meet. The **Lynchburg, Va.,** executive committee met November 17 at the residence of J. W. Goldsberry.

Interracial rally. The **Staten Island, N. Y.,** branch of the N.A.A.C.P. joined with the Epworth League and the Christian Endeavor Union in an interracial and intercredal rally held in Calvary Presbyterian church, December 3. The Rev. Horatio S. Hill, director of the Baptist Education Center of New York City, presented the Negro point of view in the panel discussion.

The **Cleveland, Ohio,** branch sponsored a meeting in the Antioch Baptist church November 15 at which Sherwood Eddy spoke. His subject was, "Southern Tenant Farmers."

Select officers. The **St. Petersburg, Fla.,** branch elected its officers for the year at the meeting of November 8.

Branch director speaks. The **Petersburg, Va.,** branch held a public meeting November 18 at the Community Center. William Pickens, director of branches, addressed the meeting.

Officers elected. Officers for the coming year were elected at the meeting of the **Morristown, N. J.,** branch held November 15 in Union Baptist church. Dr. L. E. Baxter presided.

Report conference. Youngstown, Ohio, delegates who attended the state conference of branches in September, made reports at the local meeting held November 16 at the West Federal Street "Y." The annual election of officers took place at the same time.

W. M. Howard, J. M. Dickerson and C. L. Robinson of the legal redress committee of the N.A.A.C.P., attended a meeting of the state association November 8 at Akron.

College "Y" hears Ohio president. A. A. Andrews, president of the Ohio N.A.A.C.P. branches, addressed the faculty and students at the Mount Union College Y.M.C.A., November 18. After the meeting he led a round-table discussion at Phi Kappa Tau fraternity house.

Both the faculty and students were so well pleased with Mr. Andrews' talk that they have invited him to speak to the chapel assembly at a later date.

Attorney speaks. The **Canton, Ohio,** branch heard William Howard, president of the **Youngstown** branch and a member of the state board of directors of the N.A.A.C.P., at a meeting on November 29.

Annual meeting. The **Tacoma, Wash.,** branch held its annual meeting November 22 at the A.M.E. church. The guest speaker was the Rev. William I. Monroe.

State president speaks. An open forum featured the monthly meeting of the **San Diego, Calif.,** branch held November 22 at the Bethel Baptist church. Dr. H. Claude Hudson, state president of branches, addressed the gathering and there was an election of officers.

B'nai Brith Leader Speaks. The members of the **Kansas City, Kans.,** branch heard Joseph Cohen, president of the local B'nai Brith, at the monthly meeting, November 15, at the King Solomon Baptist church. A musical program by the N.Y.A. chorus, directed by Miss Inez Ramsey, was a part of the afternoon's meeting. Charles Ramsey, basso, sang a solo, and a group of songs by the Harmony trio composed of the Misses Iantha Ramsey, Ruth Gayden and Inez Ramsey completed the program.

Choral club furnishes music. Dean William Pickens was the principal speaker at a meeting of the **Halifax county, Va.,** branch at the Barrister Hall Baptist church in Halifax, November 17. It was the first time Mr. Pickens has visited that section.

The Halifax Training school choral club, the Silvertone Quartet from South Boston, Va., and the Excelsior Men's Glee Club of Halifax furnished the music. Dr. D. Vincent Estill of South Boston was master of ceremonies.

Dean Pickens lectures. The **Petersburg, Va.,** branch heard a lecture by Dean Wiliam Pickens, director of branches of the N.A.A.C.P., at a mass meeting at the Community Center, November 18.

The meeting opened with the singing of the Negro anthem. The invocation was offered by the Rev. T. M. Crowder. Additional music was furnished by Miss Emma D. Cannon in a violin solo, accompanied by Miss Ann Rogers at the piano.

H. E. Fauntleroy, president, told of the work of the local branch and then presented L. P. Jackson of Virginia State college who introduced Mr. Pickens.

Writer addresses forum. James Weldon Johnson, poet, writer, and former secretary of the N.A.A.C.P., lectured before the Open Forum of Chicago, November 22.

Election. George B. Kelley was re-elected president of the **Troy, N. Y.,** branch of the N.A.A.C.P. at the annual meeting at the A.M.E. church, November 18. The vice-president is James H. Lockhart; secretary, Mrs. Jane Reese, and treasurer, J. Norney Harrell.

The following persons, with the officers, compose the executive committee: H. Ross Kemp, chairman; Richard Kemp, the Rev. James G. Carlile, Mrs. Russell Seymour, Fred D. Frank, William Gibson and Charles Rivers.

The president presided at the meeting and the report of the nominating committee was given by H. Ross Kemp.

Report Discrimination. Several cases of discrimination were reported at the November 16 meeting of the **Youngstown, Ohio,** branch of the N.A.A.C.P. The members assembled at the West Federal Street "Y," and elected officers for the year. W. M. Howard was elected president for a second time; vice-presidents chosen were: J. M. Dickerson and Mrs. Mary Exum; treasurer, Dr. J. H. Wallace; secretaries, the Misses Stella Stewart and Lucy Lovett; executive committee, C. C. Lottier, Mrs. Joe Winchester, Dr. W. P. Young, H. L. Parrish and Judge H. C. Hoffman. The tellers were Mrs. Robert Harris, C. V. Cabere and H. G. Emmerson.

The legal committee promised immediate action in the cases of discrimination.

Nominate officers. The **Johnstown, Pa.,** branch met recently and named the following slate of officers for the coming year: Columbus Quarrells for president; Henry Bundy, vice-president; Laura E. Cook, secretary; Tom F. Leftwich, treasurer, and Mrs. Dean B. Leftwich, adviser of the youth council.

Annual meeting. The **Marion county, W. Va.,** branch had its annual meeting at Dunbar school, November 15. Reports of the president, secretary and treasurer were given. New officers were elected. They are: president, George W. Crockett, Jr.; vice-president, Robert R. Cobbs; secretary, Phelyx G. Scott, and treasurer, J. G. Lampkin.

The executive committee is made up of the following members: Mrs. J. L. Armstrong, H. F. Hunter, W. G. Faust, Mrs. Anna Smith, J. G. Robinson, Henry Deeds and Forest Talbot.

Hold memorial service. The third annual sermon and memorial service of the **Media, Pa.,** branch was held in the Campbell A. M. E. church Sunday afternoon, November 29. The Rev. L. W. Stanford, preacher and orator, delivered the sermon. Mrs. Theodosia K. Johnson read the memorium.

The **Galesburg, Ill.,** branch elected officers for the coming year at a meeting at the home of R. W. Early on November 29.

Annual election of officers of the **Lansing, Mich.,** branch took place November 29.

Report active. The **Portsmouth, Ohio,** branch heard a report of the most active year in its history at a recent meeting. At this meeting officers for the year were elected. Solomon Biggs was re-elected president; James Sadler was named vice-president; the Rev. B. L. Brantley, second vice-president; James Setzer, secretary; Mrs. Helen Fleming, assistant secretary, and Mrs. M. L. Smith, treasurer.

CAMPAIGNS

Membership drive. The **Montgomery, W. Va.,** branch launched a membership drive with a morning meeting at the First Baptist church, November 15. The speaker was Miss Juanita E. Jackson, special assistant to the secretary of the N.A.A.C.P.

Membership drive finished. The **New York City** branch of the N.A.A.C.P. reported $520 collected from new memberships at its annual meeting held November 29.

The slate of officers submitted by the nominating committee was adopted. The officers selected are: Philip Watson, first vice-president; Charles Pennybaker, second vice-president; Mrs. Mae Cummings, third vice-president; Mrs. Mildred Dennis, recording secretary; Miss Amanda Kemp, financial secretary; G. James Fleming, field secretary; William Traynham, treasurer.

The new executive committee members are: J. Egbert Allen, Mrs. Addie Thomas, Edward Hill, Mrs. Madeline Henderson, Mrs. Flossie Hillaird, Mrs. Martha Turner, Mrs. Grace Imes, Mrs. William Pickens, the Rev. A. Clayton Powell, Dr. St. Clair Dawson, Claude James, Miss Amanda Webster, Roscoe Butler, Mrs. E. Seabrook, Horace Clark, Mrs. Jennie Johnson, Mrs. Pauline Turner Davis, Miss Maude Turner, Lionel Barrow, Mrs. Cecile Anderson and Hilton Mayers.

Mr. Allen, who has been president for five years, declined re-election. He was given a rising vote of thanks for his years of work for the association and an attempt was made to draft him for re-election.

Headquarters of the branch are at 224 W. 135th Street.

Charter membership of 50. The organization of a Wicomico county, Md., branch, was launched November 16 with 50 charter members. The branch is campaigning for a membership of 500. The work of the association will emphasize support of the fight for positions in government service, appointment of students to the U. S. Naval Academy, for higher education of Negroes, and for a public library and public park.

Membership drive. Benjamin H. Scott headed the campaign committee of the **Lynchburg, Va.,** branch in its drive for new members during December. Mrs. Daisy E. Lampkin, organizer for the N.A.A.C.P., conducted the campaign.

Purposes explained. The **Freeport, Ill.,** branch began its membership drive in November. At the regular monthly meeting, H. Goins, a delegate at the **Illinois State Conference** of the N.A.A.C.P., held at Galesburg, made a report of the conference activities.

DISCRIMINATION

Restaurant owner fined. The case of Donald Watson, of Boston, against a restaurant proprietor of **Bridgeport, Conn.,** who refused to serve him, ended in victory and the defendant was fined $5. The case was heard November 18 and was handled by the N.A.A.C.P. Those present in court were, McDonald Isaac, secretary of the local branch, the Rev. F. Z. Flack of the A.M.E. church, the Rev. F. W. Jacobs of the Messiah Baptist church and Earle A. Kaple, a New Haven attorney.

Library closes. The closing of the **St. Petersburg, Fla.,** library for Negroes, was the subject of discussion at a meeting of the local branch of the N.A.A.C.P. on November 8 at Davis elementary school. The city failed to renew the lease of the library, thereby forcing its abandonment. The books were distributed among different schools.

The members also discussed the refusal of the city council to permit a group of school children to be taken through Williams Park.

ON TO DETROIT!

Branches should begin now to make plans to raise expense money to send the largest delegation possible to the 28th annual conference in Detroit, June 29–July 4, 1937. The young people of the N.A.A.C.P. are at work raising traveling expenses and declare they will have 1,000 delegates registered at Detroit. There ought to be at least 1,000 senior branch delegates. Begin to send in to the national office your branch suggestions for the conference program. On to Detroit!

N.A.A.C.P. Youth Council News

Youth Council Leader Visits Scottsboro Boys

Last June when the delegates from the youth councils and college chapters of the N.A.A.C.P. met at the annual conference in Baltimore, Md., they arose in a body at one of the evening meetings and made a solemn pledge that the youth of the N.A.A.C.P. would not stop fighting until the Scottsboro boys are free.

On November 20 Miss Juanita E. Jackson of the national office staff, who has charge of organizing the young people in the association's work, visited the Scottsboro youths in the Jefferson county jail at Birmingham, Ala., and delivered in person to them the pledge of support from the thousands of young people over the country. Eight of the boys took part in the interview and had their pictures taken with Miss Jackson, Dr. E. W. Taggart, president of the Birmingham N.A.A.C.P. branch, and Miss Laura Kellum of the Birmingham youth council.

The boys are disheartened over their long stay in jail, and particularly over the fact that they have been confined in separate cells since January. It is not exactly solitary confinement, but it is the next thing to it. The strain of prison is beginning to tell upon them and they are inclined to be morose. Roy Wright, the youngest lad, refused to have his picture taken and had few but bitter words to say. He declares that there has been nothing but "talk, talk, talk and we are still in jail." Willie Roberson, who was 15 years old when he was arrested, about expressed the sentiment of all the youths when he said:

"I'm appreciating everything you all have done. I'm glad you're still going to do everything you can to get us out. I've been feeling downhearted for a long time, but I try to keep my hope up. I'm so tired of jail."

This will be the sixth Christmas and New Years Day that the boys have spent in jail. A new trial for Clarence Norris is scheduled for the January term of court and the hearing on the appeal of Haywood Patterson from his 75-year sentence is also scheduled for January before the Alabama supreme court.

Haywood Patterson, who has been tried more often than the others and whose name is best known, receives most of the mail. The other boys are lonely and get very little news from the outside. They would greatly appreciate letters, post cards, snapshots and accounts of young people's activities over the country. Their names are: Olen Montgomery, Willie Roberson, Charlie Weems, Eugene Williams, Clarence Norris, Haywood Patterson, Andy Wright, Roy Wright, and Ozie Powell. N.A.A.C.P. youth council groups are going to write the defendants and the Birmingham branch of the N.A.A.C.P. and youth council are arranging to take them in a special Christmas dinner.

Youth Anti-lynching Demonstration February 12

Youth councils and college chapters are plunging into the preparation for the national youth demonstration against lynching on February 12, 1937. A study guide, "For a Lynchless America," has been prepared by J. St. Clair Drake, chairman of the planning committee. This will be used by the youth groups between now and Lincoln's Birthday as they delve into the problem searching for the facts seeking to become fully informed about lynching.

"No More Lynching" parades are being planned in many centers. Mass meetings are in process of preparation. Youth members are ordering the black armbands which they will wear on that day as a dramatic sign of mourning for all those who have been lynched.

Above are shown the Scottsboro youths on the occasion of the visit of Miss Juanita E. Jackson of the national office of the N.A.A.C.P. to the Jefferson county jail in Birmingham, November 20, where she pledged that the youth of the N.A.A.C.P. would not cease work until they were free. Left to right: Ozie Powell, Olen Montgomery, Willie Roberson, Miss Jackson, Charlie Weems, Clarence Norris, Haywood Patterson, Miss Laura Kellum of the Birmingham N.A.A.C.P. youth council, Andy Wright, Eugene Williams and Dr. E. W. Taggart, president of the Birmingham N.A.A.C.P. Roy Wright, brother of Andy, refused to have his picture taken. The trial of Clarence Norris is scheduled to be held sometime in January

Youth Councils Sell Christmas Seals

Youth councils and college chapters of the association are giving splendid cooperation in the sale of Christmas seals. Outstanding among the seal sellers is Miss Willya Lacy of the Detroit youth council.

Assisted by Gloster B. Current, president of the Central youth council, Miss Lacy has employed some original and unique methods for her sale. She has set a goal of $350. There are four councils in Detroit and a loving cup will be awarded the one selling the largest amount of seals. They declared Sunday, December 20, a Christmas Seal Sunday in Detroit and two councillors were stationed in each church to sell seals. This is a special effort in addition to the usual Sunday church sales, the ministers having been asked to stress the sale. The afternoon of December 20 a Christmas seal musical tea was given.

Reports on the sale of seals are expected to be sent to the national office from all youth and senior groups and individuals promptly after Christmas.

YOUTH COUNCIL NEWS

Cleveland, Ohio. As a result of the education symposium held November 22, the youth council is making a survey of local school conditions. Interracial understanding between colored and white youth of Cleveland is being furthered by a talented committee under the leadership of Robert Williams, the president, which visits young peoples' meetings at the white churches each Sunday, rendering musical programs and telling of the work of the N.A.A.C.P.

Indianapolis, Ind. Mrs. F. Katherine Bailey, president of the Indiana State Conference of Branches, was principal speaker at the education mass meeting of the youth council held November 12. Corynne Moore was chairman of the program committee. Griselda Newton is president, while Helen Young is sponsoring the group.

Atlanta, Ga. The youth council, under the leadership of John C. Long, the president, held a reception in honor of Juanita E. Jackson, of the national office, at the Atlanta Y.W.C.A., Saturday, November 21. Over 300 young people were guests. On Sunday, November 22, a mass meeting was held at the Congregational church under the auspices of the youth council. Miss Jackson was the featured speaker. Richard Durant of Morehouse college gave special music, Llewellyn Shivery explained the purpose of the youth council, while John Long presided. At an executive committee meeting the youth council, made plans for boycotting local chain stores which refused to employ colored clerks in 100 per cent Negro neighborhoods. They also made plans to prosecute the case of Miss Barnes, a high school student at Spelman, who was assaulted on a street car recently. A Harvest Moon Ball was held December 11 for the purpose of raising funds for the support of the branch office which has been opened by the senior branch and youth council for constructive work in Atlanta. Officers of the college chapters at Morehouse, Spelman and Morris Brown colleges, Gammon Theological seminary and Clark university are cooperating in these efforts.

Staten Island, N. Y. At the education mass meeting of the youth council held November 12, the speakers were Irene Walker, president of the Christian Endeavor Union of Staten Island; John Schwirkt, Jacob Scott, Otis Hudson, Nettie Carter and Granum Berger. Greetings were brought to the group from the Borough President by Dr. Meurer. Edna Morgan, president of the youth council, made the closing appeal for support of the work of the N.A.A.C.P. The youth council sent in $5 as its initial contribution to the education defense fund.

Philadelphia, Pa. On December 5 the youth council of Philadelphia was organized at the Y.W.C.A. Emma Sidle was elected adviser; Emily Stewart, president; Beatrice Bostick, recording secretary; Dorothy Richardson, treasurer; Frances Rankin, chairman of publicity; Syrene Wcaver, chairman of membership; and Helen Morton, chairman of Christmas seal committee. The group plans to attack the discrimination which persists in neighborhood theatres in spite of the civil right law of the state. They plan to wage an active campaign against this enforced segregation by taking into court cases against local theatres.

Chester, Pa. The youth council was reorganized Sunday, December 13, at the Calvary Baptist church. Walter brown was elected president; Alvin Swiggett, vice-president; Thelma Patterson, recording secretary; and Herman Laws, treasurer. The group made plans to secure employment for young Negroes in the Ford assembly plant and in local chain stores.

Richmond, Va. Gladys Rankin was appointed chairman of Christmas seals committee and is working hard to see her group go over the top.

Detroit, Mich. The Detroit youth councils held their mass meeting Sunday, November 15. Representatives from all the young people's church groups, social and athletic clubs, and other youth groups throughout the city were in attendance. Splendid publicity was given in the newspapers. Lloyd Gaines, plaintiff in the University of Missouri case, who is doing graduate work at the University of Michigan, was speaker. The East Side Youth Council committee dramatized the University of Maryland case. Snow F. Grigsby, chairman of the Detroit Civic Rights Committee, spoke on local educational inequalities. Under the leadership of Louise Blackman, the program and research committee published 3,000 copies of a youth council paper, "The Crusader" for distribution in conjunction with the mass meeting. The cost of the paper was financed through advertisements and patrons. A contribution of $5 was made to the education defense fund.

Gary, Ind. The Gary youth council is continuing its "Buy Where You Can Work" campaign in an effort to see that every local store employs Negro clerks. They have worked on 50 stores and have succeeded in placing clerks in 35 of them. A committee of the youth council checks on the stores every two weeks and reports on the conditions found. This committee found that a number of merchants were giving short weight to their customers. Investigations followed and this practice was broken up.

Pittsburgh, Po. The youth council held its education mass meeting December 10 at the Y.M.C.A. Maurice Moss, executive secretary of the Urban League, was principal speaker. Homer Brown, president of the senior branch and a state legislator, spoke on the N.A.A.C.P. To date there are over 50 paid members of the youth council.

Albany, N. Y. The youth council is planning a series of open forum meetings at the Booker T. Washington Center. On November 8, Charles Briger, vice-president, spoke on the racial problems confronting youth in Albany. Leroy Irvis spoke on "Negro Youth in Action," telling of the work of the youth councils of the N.A.A.C.P. During the forum period an animated discussion resulted in the making of plans to force the admittance of young Negroes into the business schools and into nurse training departments of hospitals. The first annual Harvest Moon dance of the council was held recently in order to start a fund to finance the delegates to the 2nd National Youth Conference of the N.A.A.C.P. in June at Detroit. The youth council further protested a picture appearing in the Albany *Times-Union* newspaper which portrayed the Negro in an improper light. An apology was sent the council by the paper. Genevieve Williams is secretary of the group.

Mount Vernon, N. Y. This youth council, under the leadership of Ruth Royster, president, is planning to have a mass meeting Sunday, December 20 when Juanita E. Jackson will be principal speaker. Plans are being made to cooperate with the other Westchester youth groups to see that Negro clerks are employed in the Woolworth stores during the rush season.

White Plains, N. Y. Edward Lawrence, member of the national youth planning committee of the N.A.A.C.P., addressed the White Plains Youth Council at their meeting November 22 at Calvary Baptist church. George Johnson is president of the group which is making its plans for its anti-lynching demonstration February 12.

Jersey City, N. J. In observance of the national educational activity of the youth councils of the association, the youth council held a mass meeting at Thirkield M.E. church, Orient and Rose avenues. November 12. James Allen, president of the New York branch of the N.A.A.C.P., delivered the principal address. Charles Riddick, president of the council, presided. This group is progressing in its plans for the distribution of The Crisis.

Flint, Mich. Over one hundred young people attended the mass meeting of the youth council which was held at Shiloh Baptist church. The Rev. Henry Green, pastor of Bethel A.M.E. church, was the speaker of the evening on "Educational Inequalities." Dr. C. E. Walden, president of the senior branch, spoke of the work of the N.A.A.C.P. The youth council sent delegates to the quarterly meeting of the Michigan State Conference of Branches in Saginaw.

Cincinnati, Ohio. John P. Davis, of the National Negro Congress, spoke at the education mass meeting of the Cincinnati Youth Council on November 18. Local as well as national inequalities affecting Negroes were emphasized. The organization has applied for its charter and is distributing 100 copies of The Crisis every month, setting a goal of 500 monthly customers. Through the efforts of the secretary of the youth council, Mary Oliver, increased wages for fifty WPA workers

on a sewing project were secured. Eugene Johnson is president of the group.

Charleston, W. Va. The youth council was organized November 15 with the following officers: president, Willard Brown; vice-president, Jane Jackson; recording secretary, Marian White; corresponding secretary, Anna Gardner; treasurer, Lorena Madison.

Muskogee, Okla. The youth council of the N.A.A.C.P. has just been organized by S. Watkins Jennings, president of the group.

Nashville, Tenn. A youth council of the Nashville branch was organized November 18 at the branch office. The officers elected are Odell T. Collier, president; L. C. Moore, vice-president; Neuree Collier, recording secretary; Thelma Peyton, corresponding secretary; W. J. Johnson, treasurer. Plans were begun for the national youth demonstration against lynching on February 12.

Montgomery, W. Va. The youth council was organized Sunday, November 15, with the following officers: Ethelda Parrish, president; Loretha Wilkerson, vice-president; Elizabeth Porter, secretary; Mary Martha Jackson, treasurer. Mrs. Bertha Washington is adviser.

Anniston, Ala. This group was organized Friday, November 20. Vesta Stephens is president; Gladys Mowbry, vice-president; Hazel Turner, secretary; Harlean Williams, treasurer. Plans were made to secure library facilities for the young people of Anniston. There is no public library for colored children and the white library officers refuse to lend books. The group plans to circulate petitions and to organize a committee to go to the mayor about it.

Birmingham, Ala. The youth council was organized Thursday, November 17. Helen Moreland is president; Laura Kellum, secretary and Ethel Brewer, treasurer. Laura Kellum accompanied Juanita Jackson and Dr. E. W. Taggart to the Jefferson county jail where the Scottsboro boys were visited. Plans are being made by the youth councils to send gifts to the boys at Christmas and to raise a fund to finance the employment of a specialist to treat the eyes of Olen Montgomery.

COLLEGE CHAPTERS

Pennsylvania State College. The chapter is making plans to attack the problem of housing conditions for students. The treasurer has remitted to the national office membership fees for 32 members and has made application for the charter.

Fisk University. On Tuesday, November 17, the chapter organization committee, under the leadership of Clarence P. Reid, met with Juanita E. Jackson of the national office staff to plan for the organization of a permanent group. Miss Jackson addressed the faculty and students at their chapel hour, November 18. An all-campus meeting was held on December 6 for the purpose of permanently organizing the chapter. Virgil Young is vice-president; Grace Wainwright, recording secretary; Charles Rhodes, corresponding secretary; Russell Lawson, treasurer. Mrs. Charles S. Johnson is sponsor of the group.

West Virginia State College. Miss Juanita E. Jackson addressed the faculty and students, Sunday, November 15, at the annual meeting of the John Dewey Society. Immediately thereafter, nearly 300 students met to organize the college chapter. The officers elected were: John Thompson, president; Frank Clark, vice-president; Katherine Coleman, recording secretary; Cecile Mitchell, corresponding secretary; Laura Elliot, treasurer.

Miles Memorial College. Two hundred students organized Thursday, November 19. Miss Juanita Jackson had addressed the faculty and student body at their morning chapel hour. The following officers were elected: William Long, president; Edwin Mann, vice-president; Thelma Smith, recording secretary; Sallie Belle, corresponding secretary; Otis Mitchell, treasurer.

Talladega College. The chapter has 54 paid members and has applied for its charter. It is in the midst of its Christmas seal sale. The chapter is studying the cooperative movement and is making plans to organize a student cooperative. A committee under the guidance of Professor Jackson has been appointed to make a survey of the hygienic and housing conditions of the people in the community of Talladega. William Boyd is president of the group.

A. and I. State College. (Nashville.) The chapter is in the midst of its membership campaign and Christmas seal sale, having been organized by Miss Jackson of the national office staff and Professor Merl Eppse on Wednesday, November 18. The officers are: Miss Jewell Watson, president; Miss Marionne Peebles, vice-president; Miss Ruth M. Stuart, recording secretary; Miss Jessie Smith, corresponding secretary; Roy Gwynn, treasurer.

Morehouse College. The chapter was organized on Monday, November 23. The group is cooperating with the Atlanta Youth Council in the support of the local branch office, and is in the midst of its membership campaign and Christmas seal sale. The officers of the chapter are: George Washington, president; James Holloway, vice-president; A. Quarles, recording secretary; S. Williams, corresponding secretary; Richard Durant, treasurer; Charles Greenlea, assistant treasurer.

Clark University and Gammon Theological Seminary. Miss Jackson addressed the faculty and students of the college and theological departments November 23. A college chapter was organized with the following officers: Charles Copher, president; Delphin Taylor, vice-president; Juanita Lovejoy, recording secretary; Lillie Arnold, corresponding secretary; Mr. Grayson, treasurer.

Morris Brown University. The chapter was organized on November 23 following an eloquent address to the student body by Miss J. E. Jackson. The following officers were elected: Clarence Griffith, president; E. Redley, vice-president; Esther Jones, corresponding secretary; Mrs. Fuller, treasurer.

Spelman College. Miss Jackson addressed the faculty and students of Spelman on Monday morning, November 23, in Sisters Chapel. At 5 p.m. almost 200 students met to organize a college chapter. The officers chosen were: Gertrude Brown, president; Josephine Dobbs, vice-president; Claretta Scott, recording secretary; Raymond Whigham, corresponding secretary; Madge Hughes, treasurer.

Benedict College. A chapter was organized on November 24 with the following officers: Carlton Duckett, president; Adel Peterson, vice-president; William Ross, recording secretary; L. B. Bowman, corresponding secretary; Edward Davenport, treasurer. Professor J. E. Briggs is heading the N.A.A.C.P. Christmas seal sale and is out to sell at least $25 worth. The chapter is preparing to send Christmas greetings to the Scottsboro boys.

Allen University. The chapter was organized November 25. The following officers were elected: Richard Martin, president; Richard Hildebrand, vice-president; Melrose Dial, corresponding secretary; Rosa La Vallie, recording secretary; Lucius Dakers, treasurer.

Cheyney State Teachers College has sent in $41.25 representing 100 per cent membership of the student body.

Indianapolis, Ind., youth council officers: Standing left to right, Miss Hunter, treasurer; Scott Eberhart, secretary; Corynne Moore, program chairman; seated left to right, Griselda Newton, president; Mrs. F. Katherine Bailey, state president and guest speaker; Helen Young, sponsor of youth council.

TVA

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may have been provided at the top for the guarantee of justice and fairness. But as these measures worked down to subordinate officials, they likewise broke down, were administered in half measures, or not at all.

Jim Crow in Training

Let us briefly consider the training section of the Authority, devised for offering employees the necessary training for promotion to better jobs and for fitting them to better adjust themselves for living after their disconnection from the TVA. One library employee at Wheeler Dam became imbued with the liberal opinion that reading material should be made more available to Negroes who, he said, were not making adequate use of library facilities offered. He suggested, therefore, that library books be placed in the Negro Recreation Hall so that those wanting to read would not necessarily have to go to the library.

In my reluctance to agree that this manner of segregation would encourage Negroes to read any more, the library employee made known his real purpose for wanting to keep Negroes away from the library as much as possible: A Negro college student, and then an employee of the TVA, had gone to the library and made the "unpardonable error" of sitting at a reading table where whites were accustomed to sit. A subordinate on the library staff immediately felt himself called upon to defend the good old South. And so—the library employee's zeal to make reading material more available to Negroes.

Under the sponsorship of the Negro program of the training section some library volumes had been distributed in two communities near Wheeler Dam. In the meantime, the Negro training staff, with the aid of some prominent citizens, was nourishing an infant library in Tuscumbia, Alabama. At that time (though the Authority now supplies the library), many of the volumes had been contributed by citizens in sympathy with the movement. It was a shame as well as a reflection on himself that another library official suggested that the then infant library in Tuscumbia supply the reading needs of the two Negro communities near Wheeler Dam.

Safety emblems were awarded on June 25, 1936, to eight Negro employees for the diligent part they played in preventing injuries and accidents on the construction project. As to the safety engineer who presented the emblems, he deserves to be placed among those few whites who exemplified their courage in assuring justice and fairness irrespective of race. That occasion was the first on which safety emblems were awarded to Negroes. In the course of his remarks, the safety engineer said: "I have been working with colored men twenty-seven years, I must give them credit for their endurance and loyalty. In achieving my objective, I certainly owe more to colored men than to any white men I know."

Eternal Vigilance Needed

To truly be a challenge when it comes to the treatment of Negroes, I am convinced that the TVA will have to stand out much farther from the agencies or concerns it would challenge. As long as it goes at length to make adjustments to prevailing conditions where it functions, how can it challenge? For instance, Negro carpenters constructed the houses in the Negro village at Pickwick Landing Dam. After these buildings were completed, instead of allowing these carpenters to work on the construction project proper, as many of them were capable of doing, what was done? They were terminated or their classifications and rates of pay changed from carpenters to laborers.

I venture to write that the achievements by which Negroes have received certain benefits to date from the TVA will have to be followed up with a well nigh eternal vigilance else the receiving of these benefits be interrupted. The Negroes in official capacities for following up these achievements are insufficient in number. If the TVA wants to become the challenge it might be, why not employ some Negroes on its Economic Research Board, some Negro agricultural experts in its Agricultural Division, some Negro health directors in its Medical Division, some Negro foremen on its construction projects, and finally, why not allow every man, regardless of race or color, to work and advance according to his ability, skill, and experience?

I do not base my conclusion upon the few incidents and experiences recorded in this writing; it is because there were so many incidents and experiences similar to these that I have written as I have. I cannot assert what will be achieved in the future for Negroes, but if the consideration given them to date marks the criterion of fair treatment, the agency opens itself to two attacks: Having too low a criterion of *fair treatment*, and placing itself in a position to be challenged to a *fairer treatment* of a race.

Read "The American Negro and the Dark World"—February CRISIS.

Anti-lynch Bill

(*Continued from page* 15)

Southern Bloc Outnumbered

Of considerable importance, also, in this equation is the announced determination of Republicans in the 75th Congress to fight vigorously for an anti-lynching law to "recapture the Negro vote." Thus, the Democratic majority will, in a sense, be "on the spot." The shrewder ones among them, however, take comfort in the fact that the South no longer controls their party. In the new House, for example, there will be 141 members from the southern and border states. *But there will be* 193 Democratic congressmen from the North, East and West—116 from the Middle West and West, and 77 from the North and East. Thus the South will be heavily outnumbered in party caucuses. In addition, a number of the 141 from the South represent districts as in Oklahoma, Kentucky, North Carolina and Virginia where the Negro votes. Several of the 141 are pledged to the anti-lynching bill.

On the floor of the House the southern percentage is considerably lower, as there will be 89 Republican, 7 Progressive and 5 Farmer-Labor congressmen. The result is a potential two-to-one outvoting of the reactionary element of the southern wing of the House. In the Senate a somewhat similar situation obtains also.

All these factors point to possible success in the long struggle for anti-lynching legislation during the coming session of Congress. But that result will be obtained only if those who want lynching stopped, double and even treble their efforts. Funds are needed for sufficient literature, meetings, telephone and telegraph, stenographic service and other absolutely essential costs of coordinating the activities of the forty-two million Americans who have endorsed Federal anti-lynching legislation. May we strongly urge that individuals, churches and other organizations who want to play a part in this supreme effort, contribute as generously as they can, both financially and by active support. Contributions may be sent to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, 69 Fifth Avenue, New York, New York, which has been and will continue to serve as the coordinating agency in the struggle against lynching.

Religion and Cults

(*Continued from page* 10)

organ of Elder Michaux, advertises 5 "Happy Are We" 5 and 10 cents meat markets in Washington. The Elder operates settlement houses also. There

are numerous farms which are under cult control. Cult relief work and orphanages, old folks' homes, schools, newspapers and hotels are not of extraordinary social significance. It is important that social pronouncements have but recently come from the historical denominations.

Mark you, Christianity itself and all evangelical denominations were once cults. I nominate the religious movements which are led by Bishop Grace, Elder Michaux, Father Divine, et al., for inclusion in the *Census of Religious Bodies: 1936.*

Labor Unionist

(*Continued from page* 14)

Porters. They have obtained a charter as an international union from the A. F. of L. Mr. Randolph has been energetic and untiring at recent conventions of the A. F. of L. in pressing the Executive Council of that body to give power and effect to its repeated declarations against racial discrimination. The union has also been effective in winning the great majority of the Pullman employees away from allegiance to the company union among the porters, and has won a labor board election which gives it the right to represent the porters as their collective bargaining agency in dealing with the company.

Mr. Crosswaith, whom the author describes as a devoted Socialist, was active in forming the Trade Union Committee for Organizing Negro Workers in 1925, and succeeded in getting a number of Negroes placed in unions which had not heretofore had any members from that group.

Since then, he has become one of the general organizers of the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union. In 1935 he called a conference of white and Negro trade unionists, and out of that conference has grown the Negro Labor Committee which has an Executive Board of 25 members, both white and colored. The Negro Labor Committee carries on active work for all sorts of unions in helping to organize Negro workers and to break down prejudice against Negro workers in the unions. They have opened up attractive headquarters in the heart of Harlem and started a Negro Labor News Service which goes to the important colored weekly papers and some of the trade union papers as well.

That the economic radicals are working in the right direction can be seen from the fact that the outstanding men among them who were active 25 years ago are still in the fight along the same lines and are today important factors in the labor movement. The doctrine of labor solidarity has made decided headway. The Negro masses have taken as easily to unions where they had the chance as have the white workers. White workers, for their part, are coming more and more to accept the sound position that, since the Negro is undoubtedly their industrial equal, he must and should be accepted wholeheartedly into the unions on a basis of full economic and social equality as well.

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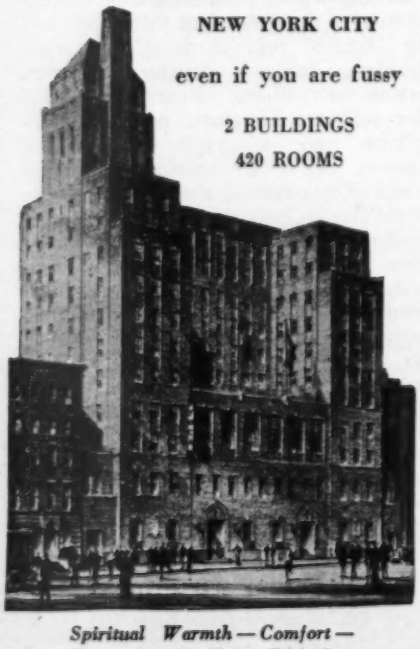

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Note: One of the persons nominated is out of the country and had not returned in time for the Nominating Committee to ascertain if he would serve; and therefore his name will be announced later when this information shall have been secured.

These nominations will be voted on at the Annual Business Meeting of the Association to be held on Monday, January 4.

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Official Notice of Business Meeting

The Annual Business Meeting of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People will be held on Monday, January 4, 1937, at 2:00 p.m., at the offices of the Association, 69 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

At this meeting will be submitted reports of officers. Nominations for members of the board of directors will be voted upon.

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ARE AMERICAN NEGROES "STEPCHILDREN" IN THE DARK WORLD?

In the February CRISIS will be presented a thoughtful article by Dr. Ernst O. Hauser, a German traveller and writer, which analyzes the peoples of the Dark World—the browns, yellows and blacks.

Dr. Hauser concludes that the American Negro, while related to these peoples by the badge of color, is really not a part of the currents moving the hundreds of millions of non-white men on the earth. He declares: "The problem of the American Negro is a minority problem . . . it must be solved in the United States and for the United States."

Neither Negro nationalists nor internationalists can afford to miss this important article which is certain to arouse wide comment.

***Read:* "The American Negro and the Dark World"—in the February CRISIS, out January 26.**

P. S. In order to be sure to get the timely articles which appear in THE CRISIS each month, why not subscribe? For one year, $1.50; two years, $2.50; single copy, 15 cents.

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